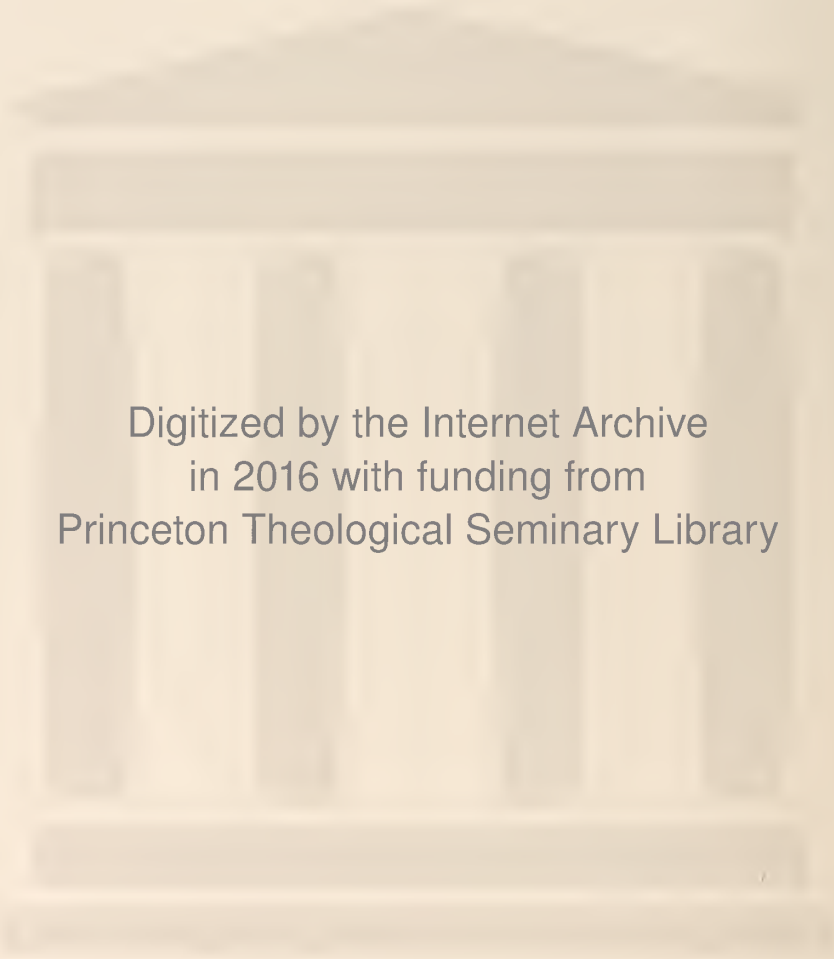


PER BR 1 .P625 v.3

The Princeton theological
review



Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2016 with funding from
Princeton Theological Seminary Library

THE PRINCETON THEOLOGICAL REVIEW.

No. 3—July, 1905.

I.

THE NINETEENTH PSALM IN THE CRITICISM OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY.

IN the first part of the nineteenth Psalm, comprising verses 2-7, or 1-6 as numbered in the English versions, the Psalmist sings of the glory of God as displayed in the heavens:

- 2 The heavens declare the glory of God,
And the firmament showeth his handiwork.
3 Day unto day uttereth speech,
And night unto night showeth knowledge.
4 There is no speech nor language,
Their voice is unheard.
5 Their line is gone out through all the earth,
And their words to the end of the world.

In them hath he set a tabernacle for the sun,
6 Which is as a bridegroom coming out of his chamber,
And rejoiceth as a strong man to run his course.
7 His going forth is from the end of the heavens,
And his circuit unto the ends of it;
And there is nothing hid from the heat thereof.

In the second part the glory of Jehovah's law is first extolled:

- | | |
|---|--------------------------------------|
| 8 The law of Jehovah is perfect, | restoring the soul: |
| The testimony of Jehovah is sure, | making wise the simple. |
| 9 The precepts of Jehovah are right, | rejoicing the heart: |
| The commandment of Jehovah is pure, | enlightening the eyes. |
| 10 The fear of Jehovah is clean, | enduring forever: |
| The ordinances of Jehovah are true, | and righteous altogether. |
| 11 More to be desired are they than gold, | yea, than much fine gold; |
| Sweeter also than honey | and the droppings of the honey comb. |

And then the poet, viewing his own life in relation to this law, prays for pardon, deliverance, and acceptance:

12 Moreover by them is thy servant warned: in keeping them is great reward.

13 Who can discern his errors? Clear thou me from hidden faults.

14 Keep back thy servant also from presumptuous sins, let them not have dominion over me:

Then shall I be upright, and I shall be clear from great transgression.

15 Let the words of my mouth and the meditation of my heart

Be acceptable in thy sight, O Jehovah, my rock and my redeemer.

From the apparent lack of coherence between these two parts and from their dissimilarity in word and matter, Rosenmüller, in 1798, concluded that the nineteenth Psalm is composed either of two distinct hymns which by accident or design became joined together, or else, in view especially of the abrupt ending of the first part, of fragments of two hymns (*Scholia in V. T.*, Partis 4 Vol. 1, pp. 530, 536). This conjecture he withdrew in the second edition of the *Scholia*, which was published in 1831, as being unnecessary; since "nothing is more common among the ancient poets of both the Hebrews and the Arabians than suddenly to pass from one theme to another in the same song." But although Rosenmüller abandoned his entire theory and unreservedly accepted the unity of the Psalm, the doctrine of the composite origin of this exquisite ode was not allowed to lapse. De Wette had in the meantime revised Rosenmüller's argument. Like Rosenmüller in his retraction, and on substantially the same grounds, de Wette denied significance to the alleged lack of coherence between the two parts of the psalm; since abrupt transition, says he, is characteristic of lyric poetry, and is exemplified in the first half of this very poem in the sudden introduction of the sun. But though de Wette rejected this argument, based on the abruptness of the change from one subject to another, yet on other grounds he asserted the original independence of the two parts. The argument which Rosenmüller derived from the dissimilarity of language and material de Wette modified, partly into diverseness of style; but he discerned the chief marks of double authorship in the difference of tone, presentation, and character of parallelism in the two sections, particularly in the greater length of the verse-members or lines, and in the less sprightly rhythm, of the latter part of the poem. To this evidence he added an argument wholly his own, though at the same time it is a further specialization of Rosenmüller's general reference to dissimilarity in word and matter. He discovered in the latter part "probably the fragment of a penitential Psalm"; and "the poet,

who begins with that exalted contemplation of nature, could hardly have concluded with the sentiments of the contrite heart." He might, indeed, have been led by a contemplation of the heavens to an humble frame of mind, as in Psalm viii; but had he "carried such trouble in his heart as is expressed in verses 13 and 14," he "could scarcely have brought himself into harmony with the rejoicings of creation" which are voiced in the first part (de Wette, *Commentar ü. d. Psalmen*, 3e Aufl, 1829). But over against de Wette's view it is significant that the nineteenth Psalm has never been reckoned among the seven penitential Psalms (Ps. vi, xxv, xxxii, xxxviii, li, cxxx, cxliii). It needs only to be compared with the fifty-first, for example, to exhibit the difference between its sentiments and a cry of penitence wrung from a broken and contrite heart. The Psalmist is not conscious of actual transgressions. He refers to sins of inadvertence; asks to be acquitted of the sins that are hidden from his eyes, and to be kept from the commission of wickedness. As Hengstenberg says, "There is no trace of a bruised heart; the mind rises in the face of human weakness, easily and without a struggle, to the blessed hope of divine forgiveness and sustaining grace." The prayer is quite compatible with a spirit that is in attune with nature's choir in its praise of God. It is not surprising, therefore, that this argument of de Wette's at once sank out of sight, and has never been put forth again. His abiding contribution to the discussion consists in his exhibition of the difference in style between the two parts of the Psalm. Of this, more anon.

In 1835, six years after the third edition of de Wette's work appeared, Ewald issued his commentary on the Psalms. He paid no heed to Rosenmüller's abandonment of his whole argument, nor to de Wette's demurrer to a part of it; but he returned to Rosenmüller's original reasoning in so far as it was based on lack of connection and on difference of content. "There is no transition from the first to the second part either in thought or language," he says, whereas the subject changes abruptly and entirely. The difference of theme calls for explanation. In the first and second editions of his commentary, he made no use of the argument derived from the difference of measure and rhythm, upon which, together with the difference in tone, de Wette had placed his chief reliance. His indifference to the claim which was put forth for diverse authorship on the ground of this rhythmical dissimilarity was doubtless influenced by the suggestion, which de Wette reports a friend to have made, that the change of style might be accounted for by the radical difference of theme. Ewald did, however, discern

a feebler speech in the second part, and a stylistic coloring, as he calls it. He adduced this rhetorical inferiority as evidence of a later age when force and vigor were waning; and in his third edition he supplemented this argument for a late date by an appeal to the art of the verse (*kunst des verses*); for, he says, that while in this [second] part also there are two strophes of four verses each, yet the "long-membered" verse prevails. And further, with respect to the time of composition, he saw in the Psalmist's profound appreciation for God's law and apprehension of its spirituality, and also in the Psalmist's prayer for deliverance from the arrogant (verse 14), marks of a date not earlier than the eighth century (first edition), or seventh and sixth centuries (third edition). Ewald had found four features in the second part of the Psalm which, in his judgment, indicated lateness of composition, namely, a decline in the poetic vigor, a longer verse, a spiritual appreciation of the law, and a prayer for deliverance from the arrogant. Accordingly, Ewald concluded that the present composite nineteenth Psalm consists of an earlier and a later poem. The earlier one he regarded as Davidic. Ewald, moreover, pointed out, on the one hand, that the hymn with which the Psalm begins is without an application, without a hint as to how man must praise God or receive the praise uttered by the heavens; and, on the other hand, that the second portion lacks a satisfactory beginning, since no prayer would begin "in so chilly a manner." Hence the only possible inference is that "a later poet attached this conclusion to that ancient [Davidic] piece, in order to place the revelation in nature and that in Scripture on equal footing (*gleich zu stellen*); he either found the ancient piece without its original ending or, what is more probable, the old ending no longer sufficed him, since at his time the written revelation had attained to high importance, and it seemed to him fitting to touch upon this latter also."

There were thus two distinct arguments before the public, as early as 1835, for the composite structure of the nineteenth Psalm, namely, diversity of theme and difference of rhythm; and before the century was half over three arguments, and soon thereafter four arguments, for the later date of the second part, namely, a decline of poetic vigor, a spiritual appreciation for the law, a prayer for deliverance from the arrogant, and the art of the verse. Eventually two more arguments for the late origin of one or both parts of the Psalm were advanced. In the study of this Psalm, therefore, eight matters require investigation. Two concern the unity of the poem, and six relate to the date of its composition.

And, first, the unity of the Psalm.

DIVERSITY OF THEME.

In 1835, a few months later than Ewald, Hitzig reviewed the previous discussions, and accepted the unity of the Psalm. "Possession—the fact that the parts are united—is," he says, "much easier to justify than to contend against." The argument based on the sudden transition from one theme to the other had been shown by Rosenmüller and de Wette to lack cogency. The mere abruptness of the change might be a sign that the Psalm has been pieced together out of other poems, or it might not. In itself it proves nothing. The closely related argument drawn from the difference of content was nullified by Hitzig, in that he advanced proof of an internal connection in thought between the two parts of the Psalm. Remarking that "the Psalm sings [or voices] the praise of God [that rises] from nature and from revelation," he pointed out that "the Hebrew was especially apt to join these two thoughts. He never made a distinction between the common God of the world and his own particular God, the Lawgiver." Nowack and Reuss, indeed, object that "verses 8–15 are not the praise of God from revelation, but are the praise of the law"; and Hengstenberg regards this two-fold division of the Psalm as a misapprehension of the poet's design. These exceptions, however, concern the husk only; they do not touch the kernel of the argument. It is not the law, but the law as Jehovah's enactment that is praised. And phrase the matter as one will, the fact remains that, as Riehm put Hitzig's argument, "the identity of the Creator of the universe and the Giver of the law is a fundamental thought of the Hebrew theocracy." It is embodied in the theocratic constitution, being implied in the monotheism of the first commandment, in which Israel's God and Lawgiver forbids His people to have any other gods before Him; and it is expressed in the fourth commandment, in the words "in six days Jehovah made heaven and earth, the sea, and all that in them is." It is voiced by the prophets; as by Jeremiah in chapter x. 10–16. This argument has justly made a deep impression on criticism. In the general principle that an inner connection was felt, Hitzig has been followed by Hengstenberg, Alexander, Delitzsch, Schultz. Even most of those critics who deny the unity of the Psalm frankly admit that the collector who united the two fragments was governed by some such unifying principle. So Hupfeld, as already de Wette, Ewald and Böttcher; Nowack also; and Kirkpatrick, citing Amos iv. 13, v. 7, 8; and Baethgen. As Cheyne expresses it: "By an afterthought the two parts of the Psalm were brought into relation" (*The Book of the Psalms*, first edition, p. 221).

Reuss saw the consequence of such an admission; and proceeding consistently, he pronounced the two parts of the present Psalm to be distinct odes, which should not be joined together, much less be printed as one. And he defended the integrity and completeness of the first poem, notwithstanding that it breaks off with startling suddenness, declaring that the abrupt ending is "a sign of greater antiquity, which expended as yet no great industry on form and finish." Duhm follows Reuss, except that he regards the first poem as a fragment. He follows Ewald in his opinion that the lost conclusion celebrated the moon as the ruler of the night. Reuss is pleased to describe his separation of Psalm xix into two psalms and his numbering of them xviii and xix as a departure from rabbinical tradition. It is a departure from more than rabbinical tradition, for the Psalm was a unit when the Greek version was made. But though consistent, Reuss does not escape the force of the argument. It must be admitted that both parts can, to quote the words of Hupfeld, "be embraced under one common abstract category."* It may therefore be regarded as fairly settled that there is an inner connection of thought between the two parts.

DIFFERENCE IN RHYTHM.

As other evidence of diversity of authorship difference in rhythm has been urged. What is the difference in rhythm? De Wette drew attention to the greater length of the lines and the diminished vivacity of the rhythm in the second half of the poem. But not until 1855 was the difference in tone and rhythm described more specifically. In that year Hupfeld wrote: "The first [part is] in genuine lyric manner, enthusiastic and with simple two-membered or three-membered verses; the second in its didactic portion is calm, sententious, with long periods or verses invariably four-membered," or, as he or his editor afterward stated the matter with nicer discrimination, "two double members, each double member consisting of a stronger and a weaker member [the latter of] which merely adds a predicate . . . as an echo," thus:

The law of the Lord is perfect,	converting the soul.
The testimony of the Lord is sure,	making wise the simple.

In this conception of the verse he follows Delitzsch, who in 1859 noticed the *cæsura* in the lines of the second part. "In the second part . . . comes the *cæsural* scheme, which as it were bounds

* Hupfeld raises a question of date which will be considered in its proper place. The question of date, however, does not concern the question of unity.

higher, draws deeper breaths, and surges like the rise and fall of waves."

It was Budde who, as a result of his notable study of the Lamentations of Jeremiah (*Z. A. T. W.*, 1882, 1-52), introduced the designation "lamentation verse" for those features of the second part of the nineteenth Psalm which had been pointed out by Hupfeld and Delitzsch. The lamentation scheme or measure is a long line broken by the cæsura into two unequal parts, of which the first is longer than the second. In the nineteenth Psalm this scheme runs regularly through verses 8-10; it is found in verse 11, where in each line the first member is longer than the second and hence congruent with the scheme, although equal or about equal in the number of words (Budde, *S.* 7, 40); it occurs in verses 12-14*a*, and also in 14*b* by shifting the position of the athnach pause, as was first seen by Delitzsch. Delitzsch finds it in verse 15 also, by shifting the athnach pause:

Acceptable be the words of my mouth	and the meditation of my heart
In thy sight, O Jehovah,	my rock and my redeemer.

But Budde regards this verse as a closing verse formed by the addition of a third member.* Wellhausen considers the verse a liturgical addition to the Psalm. It divides somewhat awkwardly into one double-membered line, according to the lamentation scheme, followed by a short line, thus:

Let the words of my mouth be acceptable, and the meditation of my heart in
thy sight,
Jehovah, my rock and my redeemer.

Or following the Septuagint, which bears witness to the presence of the word "continually" in this verse in the manuscript used by the Greek translators, Baethgen, Duhm, and Cheyne (in the revised edition of *The Book of Psalms*) emend the present Hebrew text. With this emendation the closing line, as defined by the two critics last named, shows the familiar meter 3-2 once more. Verse 15 then reads:

Let the words of my mouth be acceptable	and the meditation of my heart
Before thee continually, O Jehovah,	my rock and my redeemer.

The scheme of the lament thus runs from verse 8 into or through verse 14, and even into or through verse 15.

It was assumed by de Wette—and the argument has been taken

* So likewise Nowack.

up by Hupfeld, Ewald in the third edition, Reuss and others since—that the difference in rhythm or poetical scheme indicates diversity of authorship. But analogy does not bear out this assumption. Other Psalms, of which the unity is unquestioned, show this poetical form in a part only, just as in Psalm xix, and not throughout. In Ps. lxxv, the verses 6–9 are a unit in thought and form a complete division in the treatment of the theme; these verses, but not the rest of the poem, follow this scheme (Delitzsch, Budde). Ps. lxxxiv consists of two parts: the blessedness of intimate communion with God (verses 2–8, English 1–7) and a prayer by the Psalmist that he may share in this communion (verses 9–13). The former part runs in the lamentation measure, except its last verse, according to Budde (striking out “where she may lay her young,” v. 4, *Z. A. T. W.*, 1882, p. 40). Truly, then, the fact that a portion of a Psalm, even when forming a unit of thought, is distinguished from the rest of the poem by running in this measure is not in itself an evidence of diverse authorship.

Furthermore, Hupfeld, or his editor, even after he had Delitzsch’s commentary in his hands, was able to detect the scheme in Ps. xix in verses 8–11 only. Riehm discovered in verses 12–15 not the lamentation measure, but the recurrence of the structure which prevails in the first part of the Psalm; and Grätz, so late as 1882, declares that “the last three verses of the prayer neglect the [lamentation] form entirely.” Delitzsch and Budde, and others in their train, are right in comprehending all or practically all of the second part of the Psalm under one structural scheme of verse; yet at the same time Hupfeld, Riehm and Grätz are clearly right in their perception of a difference between verses 8–11 and verses 12–15. Ewald had also felt something of this difference. The structure of the verse still follows the lamentation scheme, but the rhythm has perceptibly changed. The change is perceptible even to readers of the English version. While all can be embraced under the scheme of the lament, yet the praise of Jehovah’s law has its own measure. This allotment of a distinct measure to each theme is significant. It recalls the suggestion of de Wette’s friend that the change in style between the first and second parts of the Psalm might be due to the radical change of subject. Moreover, the change of measure with theme does not mark this portion of the Psalm only, but characterizes the whole poem, and recurs constantly throughout. Each minor theme has its own measure, probably without conscious effort on the poet’s part; each change of thought is invariably accompanied by change in the form of the

verse; and the keynote of the characteristic scheme of the second part of the Psalm is struck in the first part, in verses 4 and 5. Notice that even the slight change from verses 8-10 to the summarizing statement in verse 11 is subtly inarked, while yet the lamentation scheme is retained.

Eight ordinary lines or members of the verse.	{	Verse 2	4	{	The heavens as a whole by day and night proclaim God's glory.
			4		
			3		
			4		
			4	{	The proclamation described: inarticulate and inaudible, yet world-wide.
			3		
			5		
			4		
			3		
Six ordinary lines or members.	{		4	{	The sun's tabernacle and exuberant strength.
		6	4		
			4		
		7	3	{	The sun's dominion.
			3 or 2		
			3		
Eight long lines broken by the cæsura.	{		8 3-2	{	Jehovah's law enthusiastically described.
			3-2		
			9 3-2		
			3-2		
		10	3-2	{	Summarizing statement.
			3-2		
		11	2-2*		
			2-2†		
Six long lines broken by the cæsura.	{		12 4-3	{	The psalmist in relation to Jehovah's law and to Jehovah his Redeemer.
			13 3-2		
			14 4-3		
			3-2		
		15†	4-2		
			2-2		

Further, if the fifteenth verse be included as an integral part of the Psalm, as is generally done—and even though it be a liturgical formula, the author himself could employ it as a fitting conclusion to his own poem (Olshausen)—then each division of the first

* The part before the cæsura is much longer than the part after it. But as the text is conjecturally restored by D. H. Müller (*Strophenbau*, p. 60), the meter is still 3-2, 3-2, thus:

The statutes of Jehovah are desirable	beyond gold and fine gold,
His words are sweeter than honey	and the droppings of the comb.

† The part before the cæsura is slightly longer than the part after it.

‡ As traditionally accented, 6-4. Delitzsch, by removing the athnach accent to the preceding word, obtains two lines, 4-2 and 2-2. If the text is emended, the last line may become 3-2.

part bears a numerical relation to the corresponding division of the second part. Fourteen ordinary short lines or verse-members in the first part, just the same number of long cæsural lines in the second part; and each division of fourteen lines is subdivided into two sections, one of eight and the other of six lines. These two phenomena, namely, of a subtle change of rhythm with each subtle change of theme and the numerical relations between the two parts, go far to prove that two fragments were not put together; but that, if the first part is a fragment, the second part was written for it, in view of its structure, to be its conclusion, and was matched to it. These phenomena not only serve reasonably to narrow down the theories in regard to the origin of the Psalm to two, namely, a fragment furnished with a new conclusion or a composition by one author throughout, but they remove all need for the former hypothesis.

And now in regard to the date.

It will be recalled that Ewald assigned the first six verses of the nineteenth Psalm to David, and the remaining eight verses to a poet of a later age. The evidence of lateness he discerned in the decline in poetic vigor, in the Psalmist's appreciation for the law and apprehension of its spirituality; in his anxiety lest he be seduced or driven to sin by the presumptuous, and in the art of the verse: four distinct indications of a date not earlier than the eighth or seventh centuries, or, as Ewald said in his second edition, the seventh century, or, as in his third edition, the seventh or sixth century before Christ.

DECLINE IN POETIC VIGOR.

Ewald's argument from the loss of vigor is characteristic of him. Vigor and sublimity in a Psalm form one of his criteria for Davidic authorship, and lack of them is evidence of the decadent age in Hebrew poetry which he defined as included in the seventh and sixth centuries. There is an element of truth in these criteria in general, but Ewald failed to make out a case in the nineteenth Psalm. Hitzig, whose criticism of the Psalms was governed by the same tests as Ewald's, found no evidence of deterioration in the nineteenth Psalm, and unhesitatingly accepted its unity and Davidic authorship. Maurer and von Lengerke, who agreed with Ewald in dating the second part about the time of the exile, felt no force in Ewald's contention that the second part is inferior to the first in point of vigor; and with Hitzig they held to the unity of the Psalm, and accounted for difference in tone and rhythm by the difference of

theme. Hupfeld, who like Ewald assigned the two parts of the Psalm to different authors and dates, based no argument on the inferiority of one part to the other. Ewald's contention that an essential loss of vigor is observable in the second part of the nineteenth Psalm, a decline in power which is an indication of date, has made no impression upon criticism. It dropped at once out of sight; evidently not because of critical prejudice, but simply because there was nothing in it.

APPRECIATION FOR JEHOVAH'S LAW.

A second indication of lateness Ewald, as already mentioned, found in the high regard for the written law and the apprehension of its spirituality. This argument is important. Probably one does not go too far in asserting that it is the supreme argument, to which all else is subsidiary. It derives its force from the criticism of the Pentateuch. Until the close of the eighteenth century the nineteenth Psalm was commonly regarded as Davidic. It was not universally ascribed to the poet-king; Paulus, for example, suggested Solomon as its author. But the denial of the Psalm to David was an individual matter. It did not divide critics into two camps. Over against believers in the Davidic authorship of the Psalm there was no opposing party standing for a definite poet or for a certain historical period, organized by a tangible principle of opposition, fighting under one standard. But with the dawn of the nineteenth century the unifying principle emerged out of Pentateuchal criticism. In 1805 de Wette was advocating the dating of Genesis in the reign of David, and Deuteronomy in the reign of Josiah. Soon afterward Ewald, with firmer grasp of the material, dated large portions of Genesis likewise in the early period of the monarchy, and assigned the Book of Deuteronomy and the completion of the Hexateuch to the second half of Manasseh's reign, or about 660 B.C. This critical position soon reflected itself in the criticism of the Psalms. Ewald ascribed to David the first part of the nineteenth Psalm and the eighth Psalm, which take up the theme of the first chapter of Genesis and sing the glory of the Creator; but the prayer in the second part of the nineteenth Psalm indicates that the written law in all its parts was observed. To what date does this fact point? Now the priestly ritual of Leviticus had, according to Ewald, ardent defenders and eulogists at the beginning of the monarchy; and appreciation for the moral law and the apprehension of its spirituality come to fine expression in the Book of Deuteronomy. The author of Deuteronomy, according to Ewald,

was likewise the final reviser of the entire Pentateuch and Joshua, and wrote about the year 660 before Christ, in the second half of Manasseh's reign. With this conception of Hebrew history Ewald naturally, or rather necessarily, dates the second part of the nineteenth Psalm after the commencement of the eighth century, or, on maturer thought, after the opening of the seventh century, or even in the sixth century. The *terminus a quo* was thought by many to have been found. It remained fixed, with unessential modifications, just so long as the great divisive critics held that Deuteronomy was the latest part of the Pentateuch. So Maurer in 1838, because of the reference to the written law, concluded that the Psalm, verses 2-15 inclusive, was composed about the time of the exile. Von Lengerke regarded it as pre-exilic; and, speaking generally, he considered it a product of the literary revival of the seventh century which accompanied the newly awakened appreciation for the law (S. xvii and xxvii). "Pentateuchal criticism," he says, "affords the surest guarantee for the correctness of our result."

The *terminus ad quem* was, of course, not established; and Justus Olshausen in 1853, on other grounds than its reference to the written law, declared the poem to be post-exilic.

But a new school of Pentateuchal criticism arose. The relative ages of the Levitical law and Deuteronomy were reversed, the priestly development was placed after the prophetic, the document heretofore known as the older Elohist ceased to be regarded as ancient, and the Pentateuch was declared not to have received its final form until after the exile. At once the eighth Psalm and the first part of the nineteenth were dated, conformably to the new view of Gen. i, in the post-exilic period (cp. Kuenen; Wellhausen on Ps. viii; Cheyne, *Origin*, p. 201); and the second part of the nineteenth Psalm, by reason of the praise of the law, must belong to the same late date (Kuenen, 1865; Grätz, 1882; Cheyne, 1889, p. 202, 238; cp. Nowack).

This particular argument for a late date might be met in one of two ways: either by referring to the defense of the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch, or else, while granting the premises of the divisive critics and accepting the dates assigned by them to the several hypothetical documents, by attempting to show that even these presuppositions do not necessitate a late date for the Psalm. Riehm adopted the latter method. De Wette, Ewald, Maurer, and Riehm himself held to the Davidic authorship of 2 Sam. xxii, that is Psalm xviii. By pointing to verses 23, 24 and 31 (22, 23 and 30, English enumeration) of that Psalm, Riehm was able to

show an appreciation for the law and an apprehension of its spirituality by David himself no less keen than is expressed in the nineteenth Psalm. Granting that Deuteronomy was a product of the seventh century, nevertheless evidence was at hand, in the eighteenth Psalm, that the praise of the law had been in men's hearts and on their lips several centuries earlier. Nowack made an ineffectual rejoinder; one indeed that was quite unnecessary, since the ground on which Riehm stood had been swept from under his feet. The Davidic authorship of the eighteenth Psalm, beyond possibly its substratum, was denied, largely for the reason that its diction has affinities with the vocabulary of Deuteronomy, and because it contains praise of the law. Advocates of a late date for Deuteronomy were coming to advocate an equally late or yet later date for both the eighteenth and the nineteenth Psalms.

Riehm's argument, however, though antiquated for the use for which it was intended, has renewed value in the debate with the most modern school of critics. Kuenen, Grätz and Cheyne regard the eighteenth Psalm as pre-exilic. Accordingly, so far as the praise of the law is concerned, the nineteenth Psalm also may have been in existence before the exile. Professor Cheyne sees this. "Even if not Davidic, may not this fragment [Ps. xix. 8-11] belong to the Josian age—to those halcyon days which followed the publication of the first Scripture? This is at least plausible. If a Josian poet wrote Ps. xviii. 21-24 and 31, why should he not have written Ps. xix. 8-11?" (*Origin of the Psalter*, p. 238). The signs are not wanting, however, that even this ground is about to be swept away. Professor Cheyne adds to his discussion the significant remark: "This at any rate [between 621 and 608 B.C.] is the earliest possible date [for the eighteenth Psalm]. I accept it not without much hesitation, and I cannot complain if some prefer to regard the Psalm as an imaginative work of the exile" (*Origin*, p. 206); and Wellhausen claims that "the [eighteenth] Psalm was written in the later days of Judaism."

But if there is likelihood that the eighteenth Psalm will be declared to be a post-exilic production, there remains the Book of Deuteronomy, which was found in the temple during the reign of Josiah. "Certainly, Deuteronomy is a 'rich and varied handbook,' not perhaps unworthy even of such a glowing eulogy" as is contained in the nineteenth Psalm. "'It sought to place the whole moral and spiritual life upon a new basis'" (Cheyne, *Origin*, p. 238). In a section admittedly as early as Josiah's reign, chapters v to xxvi or xii to xxvi, it lays emphasis on the spirituality of the laws

and urgently insists upon their observance. Ps. xix. 8-15 breathes the same spirit, and may likewise be pre-exilic. So, too, as in these verses, the value of heart religion was appreciated by Jeremiah in the same age (vii. 23; xxxi. 33, 34; xxxii. 40; xxxiii. 8). And long before Jeremiah's time welfare to the body at least was talked of as a reward for keeping Jehovah's commandments and statutes (Ex. xv. 26J); and in the Decalogue itself the spirituality of the laws was clearly intimated and their pertinence to the desires as well as to the acts of men was laid bare (Ex. xx. 17).^{*} Surely the Psalmist's praise of the written law and his consciousness of its relation to the inner life as well as to the conduct of men do not involve that the Psalm was composed after the exile. Verses 8-15 may have been sung in the first temple.

THE ALLUSION TO THE PRESUMPTUOUS.

The suggestion was hazarded that this praise of the law is the main argument for a late date, and that on examination all others will be found to be subsidiary. Ewald brought forward a third matter as evidence of the late origin of the Psalm, as will be remembered. He argued from the reference to the presumptuous or arrogant:

Guard thy servant from the arrogant,
That they may not have dominion over him.

Now the word has often been rendered by presumption or presumptuous sins; but it may be translated presumptuous men, and it is contended that the historic situation may then be judged from a similar allusion in Ps. v. 6:

The arrogant shall not stand in thy sight,
Thou hatest all workers of iniquity.

Rudinger, in the year 1580, arguing from verse 11 of the fifth Psalm, concluded that the arrogant of verse 6 are the rebels under the leadership of Absalom. In Ps. lxxxvi. 14, where the same word occurs, Rosenmüller understood David to refer to Saul and his court. De Wette, making the comparison between Ps. v and xix, judged the arrogant who are mentioned in Ps. v. 6 to be perhaps

^{*} The book of the covenant, with the ten commandments, had been long in existence. As a law book it consists of formal precepts, and does not give expression to admiration of the goodness and wholesomeness of the laws, and only incidentally or, as some critics contend, not originally to the motive of love. Yet even so, how long must it be before thoughtful, earnest men in Israel would begin to appreciate the moral grandeur of the Decalogue and to discover the beneficent effect upon man of keeping Jehovah's law?

national enemies. He quoted Gürtler as holding a similar opinion in regard to these arrogant ones, and as referring the fifth Psalm to the time of persecution under Antiochus Epiphanes. He also cited the view of Ferrandus that the arrogant enemies of Ps. v are the Babylonians. But de Wette made no attempt to date the nineteenth Psalm. Ewald understood the Psalmist to refer to the strong party among the people, toward the end of the seventh century, who were indifferent to religion and frivolous, and neglected the temple partly from disdain for it and partly from an evil conscience.

From these various ascriptions it is obvious that an allusion to the presumptuous affords a basis of but doubtful value in seeking to determine the date of a Psalm. If the approximate time of the poem's composition is first known, an allusion to the presumptuous can aid in bringing the date within narrower limits. But in itself it is not determinative. It can be adjusted to different periods of the history: to mention only those already proposed, to the time of David, to the seventh and sixth centuries, to the persecutions under Antiochus Epiphanes. Maurer and von Lengerke quietly dropped this argument, and relied upon the reference to the written law; while Olshausen frankly confessed that if each Psalm is considered by itself, an allusion in it to oppression by the enemy may be adjusted to any one of several calamities which befell Israel in the course of centuries. But Olshausen did not allow the matter to rest in uncertainty. He had already appropriated the theory that the speaker in the Psalms does not represent an individual, but is a personification of the Church or nation; and he now proceeded to group the Psalms containing references to enemies. His predecessors had done so in part, Ewald, for example, in his argument on the date of the nineteenth Psalm, had referred to the frequent occurrence of a similar prayer in other Psalms which he assigned to the seventh and sixth centuries. But Olshausen groups all the Psalms which contain a prayer or a complaint or a thanksgiving concerning the enemies of the congregation. Two classes of foes are mentioned in these Psalms; and with the light of all focused in one beam, "it becomes clear that the Psalmist is not concerned with merely a struggle of Israel with foreign foes, with the heathen, but along with the conflict goes the struggle of Israel with godless and dangerous men within the nation itself, with apostates; so that while Israel as a people is opposing hostile foreign powers the loyal congregation of the pious is opposing hostile fellow-countrymen." Taking this comprehensive view, "it

cannot for a moment be doubtful," says Olshausen, "that the nation was so situated but once in its history, so far as we know, namely in the times beginning with the persecution by Antiochus Epiphanes" (pp. 6, 7). This classification includes the nineteenth Psalm. But the principle of grouping thus introduced by Olshausen, although it has been enthusiastically adopted and developed by Prof. Cheyne, is, we believe, essentially vicious, prejudging the date of individual Psalms and proving itself fallacious when applied to the literature of other peoples. We might as well group Charles Wesley's hymn of 1749:

Soldiers of Christ, arise,
And put your armor on,
Strong in the strength which God supplies
Through His Eternal Son,

with Baring-Gould's hymn of 1865:

Onward, Christian soldiers,
Marching as to war,
With the cross of Jesus
Going on before:
Christ the Royal Master
Leads against the foe;
Forward into battle,
See His banners go,

and insist that they had their birth together. Or we might compare "Art thou weary, art thou languid?" by Stephen of St. Sabas, 725-794, with its translation by the Rev. John Mason Neale in 1862, and again insist that the conditions which gave birth to the one could not exist one thousand years later, to make the same encouragement timely. Or we might place Ps. xlv side by side with Luther's imitation of it, "Ein' feste Burg," and declare that both must be the product of the same age. As Prof. Robertson has stated it: "Neither individuals nor nations have the habit of exhausting a subject at one time and never recurring to it" (*Poetry and Religion of the Psalms*, pp. 51-56).

Olshausen's contention did not prevail with his contemporaries. Perhaps it influenced Ewald to defend his own position; for in the third edition of his commentary, in presenting his argument anew for assigning the Psalm to the period covered by the seventh and sixth centuries, he adds that the fear of seduction or compulsion to heathenism "increased still more when the new Jerusalem was actually under the domination of the heathen." Hupfeld was uninfluenced by Olshausen's argument; he reverted to de Wette's

comparison of the several parts of the second half of the Psalm with the late Ps. cxix; and on the basis of the relationship between these two Psalms, taken in connection with the general subject of verses 8-15, he merely held this section of the nineteenth Psalm to be later than the first section. Riehm, in editing Hupfeld's work in 1868, greatly weakened a part of the argument by pointing out the obvious fact that Ps. cxix may echo Ps. xix.*

Up to this last date those who rejected the Davidic authorship of the nineteenth Psalm were not compelled to assign it to a later period than Ewald had done. "The presumptuous ones" did not stand in their way. It was the rise of the Graf-Wellhausen school and the convenience, in accordance with its premises, of dating the praise of the law and the knowledge of Gen. i in the period after the exile that made it necessary to locate "the presumptuous ones" also after the exile. And so Reuss, Grätz, Wellhausen, Duhm. The argument ultimately rests, not upon the allusion to the arrogant, but on the theory that Israel's higher religious life came late in time. And the debate has been conducted it will be observed, without calling in question the translation "presumptuous ones" rather than "presumptuous sins."

THE RHYTHMIC MEASURE.

The rhythmic measure of the second part is urged as evidence that the Psalm is a late composition. According to Baethgen, "that this metrical form [the so-called lamentation strophe] has been employed for a subject to which according to its origin it is unsuitable is evidence that the second part belongs to a later age." The assumption that originally the measure was used in laments only calls for no remark here. It has no pertinence to the argument. Two other questions, however, are prompted by Baethgen's assertion: first, how ancient is the custom of employing this scheme for the lament? and second, how early was this scheme adopted for other themes than the lament? In regard to the first of these questions Budde himself, the chief investigator of the lamentation measure, in the article already cited, expresses his conviction that the scheme was employed for the lament in hoary antiquity, reaching back before the time of David (p. 44). As to the second question, which is the all-important one in the determination of the

* The relationship of verses 8-15 with Ps. cxix has also been urged by Baethgen as a reason for regarding the nineteenth Psalm as post-exilic. When, however, his argument as a whole is examined, it is found that his other premises have compelled him to accept a post-exilic date.

date of the nineteenth Psalm, Budde cites examples of the adoption of the scheme for other themes in pre-exilic times. In the Book of Nahum, written, as all scholars agree, between 664 and 607 B.C., in chapter ii. 1-3, Hebrew enumeration, are "seven tolerable verses" in this measure, although "the sense is little suited to a lamentation, being a threat of punishment for Assyria and at the same time a promise for Israel." A yet earlier passage, Hosea vi. 7-11a, admittedly penned during the eighth century B.C., is cited by Budde. It is an accusation laid against the people, yet is constructed according to the lamentation scheme; verses 7 and 8 being such just as they stand, and verses 9 to 11a becoming such by a mere change of the Masoretic accents. Budde's list of examples from pre-exilic literature, of which two have been mentioned, may be increased. Women welcomed Saul and David on their return from the slaughter of the Philistines with song and dance and the music of timbrels, singing one to another:

Saul has slain his thousands,
And David his ten thousands.

This antiphonal song of triumph is cast in the measure of the lament: three words are in the first member, two in the second; and the predicate verb is in the first. In the didactic ode of Moses (Deut. xxxii), the prevalent measure, which consists of lines containing two members of equal length, is ultimately, after the premonitory note has been thrice sounded, in verses 24, 25, 27, interrupted to give place to six consecutive verses in the lamentation measure, verses 28-32a. And in the Blessing of Moses (Deut. xxxiii), the benediction of Levi is almost entirely in lines of the lament. Now these three passages are admittedly pre-exilic. The Blessing of Moses is agreed to be at least as early as the passage cited by Budde from Hosea, probably earlier. The account of the welcome of Saul and David is commonly regarded as earlier still. It is thus quite evident that the scheme of verse which appears in the second part of the nineteenth Psalm was not uncommonly used for other purposes than the lament during a long period of the history. A didactic poem might be composed in this measure after the exile, certainly. Its use in didactic and emotional writings before the exile is fully attested, and is definitely traced back well toward the time of David. The nineteenth Psalm cannot be dated by an appeal to this measure.

In recent years two more arguments have been put forward as grounds for regarding the nineteenth Psalm as a late product of the literary activity of the Hebrews.

THE DICTION.

It is argued that the language of the nineteenth Psalm betrays a late date. For example, Kuenen, speaking of the second part, or perhaps of the whole ode, says that verses 8-15 agree "both in language and the choice of words with the younger portions of the Psalter (comp. Pss. i, cxix)"; seeming to imply that they do not agree in either of these respects with the literature older than the exile, for he dates Pss. i and cxix about the time of Ezra (*Historisch-kritisch Onderzoek, derde Deel*, Blz. 281, 303). So sweeping an assertion would, however, be quite unwarranted; for with three exceptions* the root, and in most cases the form also, of every word in the Psalm are attested as in use among the Hebrews before the exile by their occurrence in literature that is universally admitted to belong to the early period. Wellhausen describes the situation somewhat differently from Kuenen and, combining two matters, says: "The language and contents agree in proving that both portions [of the Psalm] belong to the same late period." But Baethgen is definite. "A couple of strong Aramaisms in the first part (verses 3, 5) make it advisable not to date this part either before the time of Job." With less restraint as to the date, but with equal moderation regarding the diction, Prof. Cheyne says that "the Aramaism *hiwwah*, not to urge *rakia'*, confirms the natural view that this Psalm of creation is post-exilic" (*Book of Psalms*, ed. of 1904, Vol. I, p. 75).

Of these three words, which are looked upon as indications of the date of the poem, *rakia'*, firmament, is used in the first chapter of Genesis, so that the argument advanced really rests upon the date which is assigned to that chapter. At any rate, however, "both the idea and the root are good Hebrew" (Cheyne, *Origin*, p. 468), the root being found in pre-exilic literature (2 Sam. xxii. 43; Jer. x. 9) and belonging to the common Semitic stock (Dillmann on Gen. i. 1). The two other words are characterized as Aramaisms. Regarding *millah*, word, to which Baethgen evidently refers, its root occurs as a verb in Ps. cvi. 2, and is there commented on by Giesebrecht as follows: "*Millel*, speak, which one were inclined to regard as an

* The exceptions are *hiwwah*, *naba'*, and *shegi'oth*. Of the last-mentioned word Prof. Cheyne has said: "*Shegagah* occurs seventeen times in P. C. (Lev., Num., Josh.), twice in Eccles., but also in 1 Sam. xiv. 24 Sept. (see Driver, *ad loc.*). The latter passage at any rate, if we accept it as genuine, is pre-exilic. We may assume, therefore, that both *shegagah* and its synonym *shegi'ah* are early" (*Origin*, p. 468). Compare also *shagah*, Is. xxviii. 7, before 702 B.C., according to Prof. Cheyne; and its noun in Gen. xliii. 12 J. Another of the exceptions, the verb *naba'*, occurs in Prov. xv. 2, 28; xviii. 4, in one of the two sections of the book expressly assigned to Solomon.

Aramaism, is found outside of Job and Proverbs in Gen. xxi. 7 also, in a Jehovistic connection" (Z. A. T. W., 1881, S. 296). Accordingly the word was in use among the Hebrews as early as the eighth century before Christ. The noun itself is found in "the last words of David" (2 Sam. xxiii. 2), a poem assigned by Prof. Cheyne to the age of Josiah (*Origin*, p. 69). It is the remaining word *hiwwah*, show forth, which Drs. Baethgen and Cheyne concur in regarding as an Aramaism. This verb is of frequent occurrence in Aramaic. In Hebrew it is met outside of this Psalm in the Book of Job only. It is common to several Semitic languages; it belongs to the Semitic stock. How late, then, is the Hebrew literature in which it occurs? Let us see.

It is known that influences were at work in the northern part of Palestine, during the entire period of its occupancy by the Hebrews, to keep alive among the people, or to introduce among them, words which were prominent in the Aramaic vocabulary. The evidence of this fact is furnished by the song of Deborah and the writings of the northern prophets Hosea and Jonah. That this same influence was strong in the southern part of the land for half a century or more before the exile is commonly admitted, and is abundantly evident in the pages of Jeremiah and Habakkuk. That it was felt still earlier is witnessed by such proper names as Asa, king of Judah, and Ishvi, son of King Saul; Migron, a village of Benjamin, and Jattir, a town of Judah, and Eshtaol in the lowland; by a verb like *millel* and a noun like *shalit*.* In each of these cases the word or its root is a common Aramaic term, not known in Hebrew literature or only in Psalms and the later Hebrew writings; and yet a sporadic occurrence like *shalit* in Gen. xlii. 6 and *millel* in Gen. xxi. 7 and many proper names betray the fact that such words were on the lips of the people of Judah and were used in their daily life as early as at least the eighth century before Christ, and even in many in-

* Asa, the name of a great king of Judah and also of a Levite resident in Judah, is the only trace in Hebrew of the well-known Aramaic equivalent of the Hebrew *rapha'*, to heal. The name Ishvi contains a root common in the Aramaic and not unknown in northern Israel (Hos. x. 1); but the only evidence that it was ever used by people in Judah and its vicinity is afforded by the name of Saul's son and by the song of David (2 Sam. xxii. 34). The root of Migron is found in the Aramaic, but is not met with in Hebrew literature, outside of the Psalms and Ezekiel; yet in the name Migron it was familiar to the Hebrews from the time of David onward. The name of the town Jattir is an Aramaic adjective, meaning excellent; and, though not found as such in any Hebrew writing, was in the mouth of the people. Similarly Eshtaol is a fine Aramaic form, with the final vowel modified according to the Hebrew habit of pronunciation. The occurrence of the word *shalit*, ruler, in Gen. xlii. 6, E and of course JE, is the sole witness to the existence of this common Aramaic word in early Hebrew.

stances in the times of David. It is not necessary to inquire whether they were importations from the Aramæans or were survivals of the old vocabulary common to the two peoples. Such words were actually there in those early days before the exile, however they came to be there. They were within reach of the literary man, if he had occasion to resort to them.

The Psalmist had such occasion now. While singing his hymn, and while yet unfolding his first thought, he had practically exhausted the ordinary synonyms of two words; and he was obliged to draw upon terms of rarer use in literature. He had already employed the verbs declare, show and utter; and he needed another verb of similar meaning. The poverty of the English language is revealed by the fact that the translators repeat the word show. The Hebrew poet was able to give expression to the same idea in a fourth form, *hiwwah*, belonging to the common Semitic stock. He had also used speech, words, voice, line; he required yet another noun of the same import and found it at hand, although common in Aramaic, among his own people in their use of the root *millel*. And it does not escape attention that a poet is using language; and poetry is conspicuous in the literature of all peoples by reason of its fondness for rare expressions. It is clear from this exposition that the diction of the nineteenth Psalm shows the same characteristics as does Hebrew literature generally for a century and a half before the exile—features of which traces are found in yet earlier examples of the Hebrew language—and moreover in the case of the nineteenth Psalm the reason for the choice of words is at once evident.

THE LITERARY REVIVAL OF HEBREW MYTHOLOGY.

It is asserted that Ps. xix. 2-7 belongs "to that literary revival of Hebrew mythology during and after the exile of which the Books of Job and to some extent Jonah are monuments." "The swift-running hero Shemesh," the sun, a fine myth "debased by unholy association," was "transfigured," and was thus reclaimed "from superstition to the service of the Most High" (Cheyne, *Origin of the Psalter*, p. 202).

It is true that on certain private interpretations there are not a few mythological allusions in Hebrew writings which are assigned by the Graf-Wellhausen school to the exile and the succeeding period. Leviathan and Rahab are possible examples.

But are no similar allusions found in the literature of pre-exilic days? In Prof. Cheyne's opinion cherubim and seraphim are

mythological creations for the storm cloud and the lightning, and both find place in pre-exilic literature (Gen. iii. 24, J; 2 Sam. xx. 11, pre-exilic according to Cheyne, *Origin of the Psalter*, p. 193, and cp. p. 205 on the cherub; Isa. vi. 2). In "a pre-exilic song-book called 'The Book of the Upright,'" Joshua addresses the sun as though it were a living object, and "speaks almost as if he had Ps. xix. 6 in his mind" (Cheyne, *Origin*, pp. 192, 221). Prof. Cheyne should be among the last to cite a mythological allusion in a Psalm as cogent evidence for a post-exilic date. Moreover, the prophet Amos (ix. 3) makes a poetic allusion to the serpent which Prof. Gunkel interprets as the dragon Tiamat of Babylonian myth (*Schöpfung u. Chaos*, S. 81); and Deborah in her "ancient song" may perhaps be subsidizing a phrase of current speech, in which a reminiscence of heathen notions lingered, when she poetically describes the stars from their courses fighting against Sisera (Judg. v. 20). At any rate her description of the stars as fighting from their courses parallels the Psalmist's description of the sun going forth as a bridegroom and rejoicing as a runner. The prophetess refers to the sun also in words like unto the Psalmist's when she says: "Be as the sun when he goeth forth in his might" (Judg. v. 31). There should, therefore, be no denial by Prof. Cheyne of at least a willingness on the part of a Hebrew poet who lived before the exile to borrow beautiful imagery from exploded mythology, and to employ figures which still remained current in popular speech. General features of this sort, even assuming that their origin lies in mythology, afford no evidence that a Psalm is a late production.

But why find mythology in the nineteenth Psalm? For one to speak of the tabernacle of the sun is not to give credence to mythology. The phrase "to set a tabernacle" means, without a figure, to provide a dwelling, or assign a place (Alexander; comp. 1 Sam. xiii. 2=home); and it may have this meaning in the Psalm. At most the expression springs from a naïve conception of the universe which lingered in current speech. More probably both it and the comparison of the sun to a radiant bridegroom and to a runner exulting in his strength and endurance are but poetic imagery. But to whatever source the reference to the sun's tabernacle is due, it proceeds from the same mental trait which led the Hebrews to speak of the foundations of the earth (Jer. xxxi. 37; Mic. vi. 2) and the windows of heaven (Gen. vii. 11; 2 Kings vii. 2), of the chambers which Jehovah hath builded for himself in the heavens (Amos ix. 6) and the treasures whence he bringeth forth the wind (Jer. x

13), of the wings of the wind (Hos. iv. 19) and the wings of the sun (Mal. iii. 20=iv. 2, English version). Whether these allusions are traced to myth, or to a naïve conception of the universe, or to poetic imagination, they are all found in pre-exilic literature, with the exception of the citation from Malachi, as will be noticed; and as already noted, the figure by which the sun is spoken of as going forth in might is as old as the "ancient song" of Deborah; so that again it becomes clear that features of this sort furnish no criterion for adjudging a late date to the Psalm.

The crucial arguments against the pre-exilic origin of the nineteenth Psalm which have been advanced during the century of modern Biblical criticism have now been examined. There appears to be no sound reason for denying that this fine hymn had a place in the Psalter of the first temple. That it had this place is sufficiently declared by its ancient title.

Princeton.

JOHN D. DAVIS.

II.

“JOHN KNOX, REFORMER OF A KINGDOM.”*†

THOMAS CARLYLE declared Knox to be “the one Scotchman to whom of all others his country and the world owe a debt.” And it is in recognition of that world-wide indebtedness that we are met here to-day to pay our tribute to his memory. Nay, rather to his life-work. For his life is no mere memory, but a living power. For his works do follow him, and he, being dead, yet speaketh.

Our interest in John Knox is two-fold—as one of the most notable examples of the transforming and controlling power of Christian faith, and as one of the principal actors in a great historical drama. The former is, for the present age, the more important consideration. For great as was the epoch in which he lived, important as were its issues for Scotland and England and America, its problems were temporary, and no stage is likely to be set again with either its actors or its incidents. But the personal history of John Knox has in it a universal note, which makes it of overmastering value to every age and to every individual seeking the noblest things.

By universal I mean a type of character compact of that which is highest and best and most permanent in human nature; in one aspect independent of any particular age, and in another so intense and active as to seem particularly adapted to the age in which it was formed. Thus, while claiming for Knox a breadth and dignity of character due to his sense of nearness to God, I heartily accept Mr. Hume Brown’s dictum, in which he declares that Knox possessed “an individuality marked for a special purpose, and endowed with every gift requisite for its fulfillment” (*Life of Knox*, I, 117). It is the same thing which we find in the great characters of the Bible—in Abraham and Moses, in Samuel and David, in Isaiah and Daniel, in John the Baptist and Paul—in the great characters of the Bible, and not less in those who through the Christian centuries have proved the transforming power of God’s love. The lesson of

* An address delivered before the Theological Seminary at Princeton on the occasion of a celebration in honor of the four hundredth anniversary of the birth of John Knox.

† “Knox Himself, the Reformer of a Kingdom,” Milton, *Areopagitica*.

such a life is needed to-day and every day. The temptations to be met and mastered are the same in every age, however the masks they wear may differ. The issues are eternally the same.

I.

John Knox was born* in or near the town of Haddington, seventeen miles east of Edinburgh, of humble parentage, at a date no record of which has been preserved. He probably studied at the University of St. Andrew's, and was admitted to clerical orders prior to 1541. In 1544 he entered the family of Hugh Douglas of Longniddry as tutor of his sons and the son of the laird of Ormiston. Not a single incident distinguishes his career from thousands of others until the moment which he marks as an epoch in his own and his country's history.

"In the midst of all the calamities that came upon this Realm . . . came to Scotland that Blessed Martyr of God Master George Wishart in the year of God 1544. He was a man of such graces as before him were never heard within this Realm, yea, and are rare to be found yet in any man, notwithstanding the great light of God that since his days hath shined unto us. He was singularly learned, as well in all godly knowledge as in all honest human science" (*Works*, I, p. 125).†

Knox tells us how he "waited upon him carefully from the time he came to Lothian," and makes it clear that from the teaching of Wishart grew that experience of personal religion which transformed his life. The preaching of Wishart was that plain Scriptural exposition which was taking all Europe back to the word of God as to a newly opened fountain, with a fearless application of its teaching to the moral and social condition of contemporary life which produced an intense spiritual and political ferment. The effect upon Knox was immediate and immense. It drove him to study the Bible carefully, and he tells us that it was in the seventeenth chapter of John's Gospel, the glorious discourse of our Lord after the last supper, that he first cast anchor. It drove him out of his study with the fervor of a young man and a new convert to carry a

* The latest opinions on the date of Knox's birth have been collected in the March, 1905, number of the *Journal of the Presbyterian Historical Society of Philadelphia*. The weight of opinion is decidedly in favor of 1515, a date which suits the established facts of his career better than any other, clears up the one dark gap, 1530 to 1541, and relieves him from the criticism which has been visited by recent historians on his second marriage.

† The popular character of this address has led to the use of the modernized text of Mr. C. J. Guthrie, London, 1898; but the references throughout are to the definitive edition of David Laing, six volumes, Edinburgh.

two-handed sword before Wishart, after an attempt had been made to assassinate him. The tender pathos of his description of Wishart's arrest and martyrdom remains to us as a page of his own deep spiritual experience. And realizing that he was now marked as one of the professors of the "new evangel," after the murder of Cardinal Beaton he took refuge in the Castle of St. Andrew's, and there came to him the public call to the office of preacher by the voice of the leaders of the new movement and the lips of John Rough. This incident is of the utmost significance in his career. That he had fervently embraced the doctrines of the Reformation was obvious enough, that he was ready to make public profession of his faith in peril of persecution he had made clear to all the world, that in the education of his young pupils he was actively teaching the Bible and a reformed Catechism he has himself recorded; but that he was not seeking the responsible office of the preacher of reform is no less plain.

At the close of a sermon upon the election of ministers John Rough—the sometime friar, the martyr yet to be—addressing Knox, gave him this solemn charge:

"In the name of God and of His Son Jesus Christ, and in the name of these that presently call you by my mouth, I charge you, that you refuse not this holy vocation, but, as ye tender the Glory of God, the increase of Christ His kingdom, the edification of your brethren and the comfort of me, oppressed by the multitude of labors, that you take upon you the public office of preaching, even as ye look to avoid God's heavy displeasure and desire that He shall multiply His graces upon you.

"Whereat, John Knox, abashed, burst forth in most abundant tears, and withdrew himself to his chamber. His countenance and behavior, from that day to the day that he was compelled to present himself to the public place of preaching, did sufficiently declare the grief and trouble of his heart; for no man saw any kind of mirth in him, neither yet had he pleasure to accompany any man for many days together" (*Works*, I, pp. 187-188).

There was surely enough to cause any man to pause and reflect before he accepted the vocation thus thrust upon him. It was a call to every form of self-sacrifice—to poverty, to hardship, to outlawry, almost certainly to the pains of martyrdom. But it is clear that it was not from any want of physical courage that he shrank back. It was true of him then, as always, as the Regent Morton said by his open grave, that he was a man who never "feared any flesh." It was also true of him then, as he declared

it ever was, that he was "a weak and fearful man." That is, he realized the awfulness of the call, its grandeur transcending human powers—and he knew his own inadequacy. He had, however, cast anchor in John's Gospel at the seventeenth chapter; and the anchor held. He got his grip fast in the firm rock of holy Scripture, and thereafter though the billows rolled round him mountain high, though the storms beat and buffeted him, he never faltered in his faith nor failed in the hour of need.

He was speedily to have that deep spiritual experience which is associated with intense physical strain and the loneliness which makes a man feel that he is forsaken alike by man and God. For by the capture of the Castle of St. Andrew's he fell into the hands of the French, and for nineteen months he was condemned to the galleys.

There are certain synonyms of suffering from which the modern mind shrinks back in horror. The Hebrew making his bricks without straw, the Athenian in the mines of Syracuse, the Protestant in the French galleys knew the frightful reality whose verbal symbol causes our blood to chill. Few indeed have been the men who have come forth from such an ordeal unbroken and unembittered, who still retain their integrity and are not ready "to curse God and die." But of these Knox was one. He had learned how to suffer hardness as a good soldier of Jesus Christ, and it need not surprise us that thenceforward he should be so utterly fearless, so completely free from those influences which make a life of self-denial so difficult even to those of the loftiest ideals.

He was released from the galleys at the instance of Edward VI of England, and there being no good hope of present usefulness in Scotland, he went to England, and in Berwick and Newcastle, as one of the chaplains of the king, and as an apostle of the new evangel preaching wherever he was sent, he made proof of his ministry. When Edward died and Mary Tudor came to the throne he took refuge on the continent. For a time he preached at Dieppe, then at Frankfort as minister of a church of English exiles, and for about two and a half years he was one of the ministers of the church of English refugees at Geneva. These seem to have been his years of greatest ease and happiness. He found in Calvin and his fellow-exiles noble and kindred spirits, he had time for study and reflection, for the joys of friendship and for the formation of home ties. During these years he gathered a wide experience of men and affairs in many lands and under a wide diversity of circumstances, he enjoyed the favor of princes and he met with the sternest reverses

of fortune. Through it all his faith grew stronger and clearer, his trust in men, including himself, became as nothing in the presence of his overwhelming, all-absorbing dependence on an all-wise, all-good, ever-present God. The absolute authority of the word of God took complete possession of his mind and heart, and he became, as completely as Paul himself, the bond slave of Jesus Christ. His mind lent itself readily to that type of doctrine which we call Calvinistic, which the age of the Reformation thought of as Augustinian, which is distinctly Pauline, but which is simply the purest form of Evangelical Christianity. Knox was not dependent upon Calvin for it any more than Zwingli was. But no doubt his association with Calvin gave his views greater stability and certainty, and, as he himself tells us, developed his views of the Christian commonwealth. In one particular he pressed his doctrine of the authority of holy Scripture beyond even that of Calvin and the Westminster divines. He not only insisted on a reform which would eliminate from the Church every doctrine and ceremony which was contrary to the word of God, but he demanded that nothing should be tolerated for which distinct Scriptural warrant could not be obtained. It is easy to understand how unwelcome such teaching was, even to many who recognized the need of reform. Even had he not so deeply offended Queen Elizabeth by the one grave blunder of his career, his tract, "The First Blast of the Trumpet Against the Monstrous Regiment of Women," his uncompromising demand for a reform based upon the letter of Scripture would never have admitted him to her favor.

As for the general temper of the man, it was not coldly intellectual. His writings abound in pathos and tenderness, in broad humor and keen sarcasm. We find him acting the part of the cordial host, the gentle pastor, the loyal friend. If he held back from an unwelcome duty, no man dealt more honestly by himself for his reluctance or by the duty when he once recognized its claim upon him. His highest vocation was undoubtedly that to which he was so dramatically called, the preacher of righteousness, and to that he gave his best powers. But in whatever position he found himself, he dealt so honestly and courageously by it that as statesman and historian he attained a position second to none—not of his own country only, but of his age.

Such was the man who at length, in the year 1559, was summoned to Scotland to take part in the great work of reform now come to definite issue. Unless our faith deceives us, such a man, so formed, could not fail to acquit himself like a man in Scotland or elsewhere.

Such men, born it matters not when or where, born again by the Spirit of God, called of God to the service of truth, tried by adversity, unspoiled by prosperity, built up by companionship with the noblest men, but most of all by daily familiarity with the word of God—such men are needed everywhere to-day as much as they were in Scotland in the year of grace 1559. God send us men of like heroic mould!

II.

On the stage of European history the sixteenth century presents three interesting movements—the culmination of the Renaissance, the Protestant Reformation and the Catholic Reaction. Each in its own way represents intense human activity—intellectual and emotional, social and political. Each gave birth to new ideas and new ideals. Scarcely any country in Europe escaped the influence of each in turn, yet the effect on each country was different.

Thus in Italy and Spain the Reformation wrought so feebly as to win little room for the new spirit of faith to vivify lands ravaged by the ruthlessness of the Renaissance and strangled by the repression of the Reaction. While in a great part of Germany the Renaissance did scarcely more than supply in the humanism of Erasmus and the art of Dürer the necessary instruments for a Reform too spontaneous and far-reaching to be overcome by any reaction. In France the Renaissance flowered in the age of Francis I, declined in that of Henry II, and under the influence of Catherine de Medici, in combination with the rising spirit of the Catholic Reaction, bore some of its worst fruits during the brief and bitter reigns of her feeble sons, while the forces of the Reformation, in both its spiritual and political phases, strove in vain for recognition and existence. Catherine and the Guises, while they used the weapons of the Reaction freely, exhibit that cynical superiority to the authority of the Church which is characteristic of the Renaissance; and Mary of Guise in Scotland, and Mary of Scotland herself, show the same indifference to the mandates of the Church whenever those mandates clash with their personal interests. In this court circle Henry of Navarre suffered that moral corruption which, even while he was the representative of the political phase of the Reformation movement, made him a reproach to the cause he served and eventually its betrayer.

In England the Renaissance made its first appearance in the aspect of the revival of learning, and was quickly followed by the political Protestantism of Henry VIII's divorce and ecclesiastical

independence of the papacy. A fairer phase made Edward's brief reign bright with promise, only to be blighted by Mary's fiery zeal for the Reaction. With Elizabeth's accession the Renaissance returned in full vigor, retarding the triumph of distinctive Reformed ideas, so that Elizabeth, having freely given her heart to the one, surrounded herself with a court full of the life and love of beauty of the Renaissance; and having grudgingly given her mind to the other, chose her counselors from the assured friends of the Reformation. The queen herself, with Leicester, Sydney, Raleigh and Drake, will always represent the age of Elizabeth to some; while others cherish it for the work of Cecil and Nicholas Bacon, of Hooker and of Cartwright.

Various as the influence of these movements on France and England were, their aspect in Scotland was yet different. At the death of James V, in 1542, Scotland was one of the most backward of European countries. Bred abroad, James had brought home from France ideas of national organization which were not more advanced than those of Louis XI in France or Edward IV in England, and he died of a broken heart because of the collapse of his plans in the shameful conduct of his nobility in the face of a foreign foe at Solway Moss. A savage feudalism, with little regard for any form of central government and a contemptuous indifference to a corrupt and feeble Church, characterized the land. Outside of Edinburgh there was but a single walled town. The lowlands had long been subject to the fierce forays of the border and the no less hostile raids of their highland countrymen. There was no industrial development of any importance, and the townspeople had hitherto waited in vain for that opportunity of wealth, education and civic spirit which had made the Italian republics, the French communes and the free cities of the empire nursing mothers of liberty. The only tie which bound the kingdom to the world of civilized thought and action was the strategic importance of Scotland in the age-long rivalry between France and England. In this struggle France had lately held the upper hand, and her manners had completely captured the court circle and her representatives were playing a bold game for a final appropriation of the country. But France as little realized at that time as we are likely to do to-day the hardy brutality of the great feudatories and the slight tie that bound the people or the feudal baronage to the crown.

In short, Scotland was still in a state of rude mediævalism. A mediævalism, moreover, which had grown up outside of the old Roman civilization, with few or none of those influences which for

a thousand years worked slowly toward the dawning of a brighter age. There was no conscious national life, no settled constitutional system, no church of vital powers and capable leaders, no vigorous universities informed with the spirit of the new learning. It may truly be said of Scotland as it was said of Israel in a like case: "In those days there was no king in Israel: every man did that which was right in his own eyes." To the broken-hearted king on his death-bed was brought the news of the birth of his daughter, but the news brought no cheer to him, all too conscious of the failure of his plans. "It came with a lass, and it will pass with a lass,"* was his despairing prophecy. There is in his mind no room for any thought of Scotland. It is only the kingship which concerns him.

So at the very close of the year 1542 the king died, the little Mary was proclaimed queen, the Earl of Arran was named as regent by the council, and Scotland began again to thread the intricate mazes of the endless conspiracies of one more feeble regency.

But a new factor had been added to the familiar list of queen mother, great barons and churchmen, and princes of the blood. Scotland had managed to remain all but untouched by the new birth of the Renaissance, but it was not to be so with the new evangel of Martin Luther. Heresy was no new phenomena. Lollardry had early found a road into Scotland and had maintained itself with singular persistency in the western lowlands. Not a few victims had been offered upon the altar of a complacent satisfaction with an outworn order. But now that there was a contagion in the air, the Church as organized in its head and branches began to realize that this was no casual conflict with an irrepressible tendency of the human mind toward innovation, but one phase of a widespread movement. It was the more notable because it spread so rapidly beyond clerical circles and awoke such a stubborn spirit in the lesser baronage and the well-to-do people of the towns.

The Regent Arran proved himself to be a typical noble of the old order, a little less daring, perhaps, than many of his predecessors, neither more nor less capable. Succumbing to his rival, Cardinal Beaton, he became till the murder of that astute churchman his pliant tool. Finally retiring in 1554, he gave way to Mary of Guise, who used the regency and all her woman's wit to promote the power of her house, the French alliance and, where it did not clash with her dearer schemes, the power of the papacy. Among the greater nobles she did not find a single helper worthy of

* This is Pitscottie's version. Lindsay's *History*, 1728, p. 176.

note, a single minister willing and able to promote her policies. Perhaps nothing can more clearly indicate the poverty of the age than the want of capable men to serve those in power. Out of the numerous company of nobles who pass across the scene, only two of first-class ability are to be found. These are James Stewart, the illegitimate son of the late king, who appears first as the Prior of St. Andrew's, becomes Earl of Murray, and ably governs as regent from 1567 to 1570; and Lord Maitland of Lethington, usually spoken of as Secretary Lethington.

The weakness of these two men is in the very thing that this age of ours in its blindness demands of the Reformers of the sixteenth century. They were too tolerant, too ready to temporize. They were wanting in that quality which alone could face the utter intolerance and unscrupulousness of the Church of Rome and the French theory of monarchy. I prefer to call that quality inflexibility. Whatever it was John Knox had it. And his very enemies have found it hard to give it a very bad name even in him. Both Murray and Lethington were men of their age; both were singularly adroit and skillful politicians. Murray belonged rather to the school of Cecil in England and Sully in France; Lethington was more of a child of the Renaissance, of a more idealizing temperament, far less direct and reliable. He was from first to last the only man who fairly met Knox face to face in council. It must be granted that in everything except a fair estimate of the forces with which they were confronted, the generous tolerance of Murray and the able statecraft of Lethington were more in accord with modern ideas of statesmanship than anything which John Knox had to offer. In the end they were obliged to turn to Knox for the power needed to save the whole reform movement from utter wreck, and the assassination of Murray and the sad end of Lethington illustrate forcibly the sounder judgment of Knox. In the face of such a *denouement* it is foolish to criticise that judgment as harsh and uncharitable. The simple fact is that these men owed to the reform movement that deeper insight which gave them the first truly national policy for Scotland, and the modern political philosopher owes the soundness of his own theories to the fact that the Protestant Reformation succeeded in so large a measure in establishing in the greater part of Europe not only toleration, but liberty of thought and speech.

But of course Mary is the great personality of the age—Knox himself always excepted.

To those familiar with the history of the time it is scarcely neces-

sary to say that there was nothing in her mind or person worthy of the great place she occupies in the drama. "Her tragical historie" was due to her birth, her rank, her unhappy inheritance. Mr. Rosetti has put into the wail of Johanna, queen of the murdered James I, something of this tragic consequence of birth.

"'O James!' she said—'My James!' she said—
'Alas for the woful thing
That a poet true and a friend of man,
In desperate days of bale and ban,
Should needs be born a king.'"

That Mary had a mind of unusual acuteness, a temperament of extraordinary vitality and a body of masculine vigor and more than feminine beauty is not to be denied. But neither by nature nor by culture did she possess any of the finer qualities of mind or heart which she needed in the great place she was born to fill. She combined lines of inheritance which could not fail to give her extraordinary powers. The Stuart race despite its utter inability to learn the limitations of royalty and its complete untrustworthiness, had a grace and charm rarely surpassed; the Tudor blood was full of the masculine vigor which made Elizabeth so masterful; and there was no house in Europe more able and more daring than that of Guise. That this inheritance might work itself out in a fitting environment Mary was sent to the court of France in her sixth year. That I may not be suspected of prejudice in my picture of that court, let me quote from Mr. Algernon Charles Swinburne, who, if we may judge from some of his poems, is not notably prudish. He says:

"The society in which the child was thenceforward reared is known to readers of Brantôme as well as that of imperial Rome at its worst is known to readers of Suetonius or Petronius—as well as that of papal Rome at its worst is known to the readers of the diary kept by the domestic chaplain of Pope Alexander VI. Only in their pages can a parallel be found to the gay and easy record which reveals without sign of shame or suspicion of offense the daily life of a court compared to which the court of King Charles II is as the court of Victoria to the society described by Grammont. Debauchery of all kinds and murder in all forms were the daily matter of excitement or of jest to the brilliant circle which revolved around Queen Catherine de Medici. After ten years' training under the tutelage of the woman whose main instrument of policy was the corruption of her own children, the Queen of Scots, aged fifteen years and five months, was married to the eldest and feeblest of the

brood.”* For a year and a half she lived in the very storm centre of the fierce and unscrupulous struggle for power which tore the court, and for eight months more she was one of the important pieces in the diplomatic game played by Catherine and the Guises for power in and out of France. Finally, in August, 1561, she returned to Scotland. Her career thenceforward was worthy of her bringing up. It was a struggle for unlimited license in the gratification of her own wishes. No fixed purpose can be discovered even in her pursuit of pleasure; no idea of enjoyment worthy of her royal rank. She lacked the prudence and self-restraint which had marked her mother’s course. She showed none of the wicked persistence which had characterized her preceptress in crime. The claims neither of Church nor State weighed with her in comparison with her whims. If the suspicions of her Protestant subjects did not restrain her in her relations with Rizzio, the open condemnation of the Roman Church did not keep her from marrying Bothwell by the Protestant ritual.†

Her apologists find nothing to say for her more rational than that she was sinned against as well as sinning; her royal prerogative was unduly limited; she was humiliated by the blunt rebukes of such men as Knox; she was outraged by the conduct of Darnley, and swept away by the brutal force of Bothwell; she was driven into indiscretion by unjust suspicions as to her relations with Chastelard and Rizzio, and goaded into madness by the murder of her favorite.

Let us say that she was a woman of her age and her environment, a child of the Renaissance, entering the same plea for her that we did for Lethington, that we hear nowadays advanced for Joanna of Naples and Lucretia Borgia. Let us recognize that it was an age that glorified the *virago*—a word not then fallen into disrepute—

* *Encyclopædia Britannica*, XI ed., Vol. XV, tit. Mary, Queen of Scots.

† The Bothwell marriage is the culmination of Mary’s defiance of all law, human and divine. When it took place—we cannot say “was solemnized”—but three months and five days had elapsed since the murder of Darnley. Bothwell had been married but fifteen months before by the advice and express counsel of the Queen, and divorced, without cause, for the purpose of marriage with Mary. Only one month elapsed before Bothwell was expelled from the kingdom by the outraged people. While the marriage was performed according to Reformed forms, Adam Bothwell was actuated by other than Reformed ideas. Craig refused to publish the bans except upon a royal writ, and then “publicly took heaven and earth to witness that he abhorred the proposed marriage,” and he admonished Bothwell before the Privy Council. Adam Bothwell was cited to appear before the General Assembly and suspended from his ministerial office. See Hay Fleming, *Mary, Queen of Scots*, London, 1898: especially the rich mine of original authorities in the voluminous notes.

the manly woman of keen mind and resolute will and alert purpose. Let us admit that to the freedom of the Renaissance in which she was reared had been added the fine philosophy of the Catholic Reaction holding that the end justifies the means. And, finally, let us concede that the corrupt Church in which she was reared and by which she was sustained made sin and self-indulgence easy to the powerful instruments of its policy. Having granted all this, is it possible to find excuse for her contempt of the rules of decency, of the claims of religion, of the duties of the ruler?

Even the Italy of the Renaissance rejected many a ruler as brilliant and no worse than she; France refused the claims of the Guises and took a tardy vengeance on the house of Bourbon; England sent a much less wicked and false descendant of hers to the scaffold. Indeed, it was not Scotland but England, not the outspoken and inflexible policy of Knox but the halting and none-too-open dealing of "good Queen Bess," that brought Mary at last to a final accounting.

Had Mary been allowed a free hand, what would she have done for Scotland? Her only civic policy was to establish the power of the crown at the expense of nobility and people; her only ecclesiastical policy was to reestablish a corrupt and ignorant clergy in a place whose power they had abused and to permit them to light again the fires of persecution in every town in Scotland; her only social policy was to enrich a few unworthy favorites and to lead with them a life of shameless dalliance, without a thought for the moral, intellectual and industrial welfare of her land; and her sense of that divinity which doth hedge a king was not such as to restrain her from the gratification of passions—lust, revenge and private hatred—which would have disgraced the humblest outcast in the purlieus of her capital.

III.

I have endeavored to present some picture of the age and its principal characters as a background for the definitive work which John Knox was to do. Let us now trace the rise and progress of the Scottish Reformation and see how he was called to play his part in it.

In his history of the Reformation in Scotland, Knox has chosen the preaching and martyrdom of Master Patrick Hamilton, in 1528, as the first faint streak of the dawn of the new day. It was, however, not till the death of Wishart and the murder of Beaton that there was any considerable party committed to a work of reform,

and that the movement passed beyond the stage of the occasional preaching by some priest or friar whose heart had been stirred by the great Protestant Reformation. The terrible tyranny of the Church, its complete control of the vast engines of repression, are hard for us to realize. Even in Scotland, where the rude hand of a lawless baronage had never completely submitted to the laws of the State, and had again and again struck down the king, the authority of the Church could not be defied with impunity. But from the murder of Cardinal Beaton a considerable and influential body of nobility and people became aroused to the fact that this matter of reform was something more than an ecclesiastical squabble, and contained in it issues of the deepest concern for every class in society. The foreign policy of the country had long been dominated by the rivalry of England and France for the friendship of Scotland, and now the reforming party began to realize that its fortunes were bound up in the English alliance. The deaths of Henry VIII and of Edward VI soon left it without an ally, but with the accession of Elizabeth hope revived. Meantime the complete subordination of the policy of the regent Mary of Guise to the French interests strengthened the English party, and in 1558 a decided movement well supported by nobility and people began. Knox had visited Scotland in 1555 and was cheered by what he saw and heard. He was invited to return in 1557 by four of the leaders, James Stuart (afterward Earl of Murray), Lord Lorne (afterward Earl of Argyle), the Earl of Glencairn and Erskine of Dun. But it was not until 1559 that he returned to Scotland and took up the great cause.

It has become habitual with us to speak of the Scottish Reformation as the work of John Knox. As Thomas Carlyle says: "In the history of Scotland I can find properly but one epoch; we may say it contains nothing of world-interest at all but this Reformation by Knox." And he not unjustly characterizes it when he says: "At the Reformation, the internal life is kindled as it were under the ribs of (this) outward material death. A cause, the noblest of causes, kindles itself, . . . whereby the meanest man becomes not a citizen only, but a member of Christ's visible Church." And again: "This that Knox did for his nation, I say, we may really call a resurrection as from death. It was not a smooth business; but it was welcome surely, and cheap at that price had it been far tougher. On the whole cheap at any price; as life is." It took him some time to mount to the full truth, but we can see the sturdy Scotch spirit rising in the face of the petty accusations so often

taken up against Knox and this his Reformation. But as a matter of fact there was no need for any such concession to the timid Laodicean nineteenth century. For David Laing is well justified in asking: "Was a triumph of such magnitude and importance ever accomplished with less sacrifice of blood, or less sullied by personal suffering?" For there can be but one answer: Never.

Nevertheless, it is necessary that we should recognize that the great work of reform had already advanced far, and would certainly have gone farther had John Knox never returned to Scotland. But it is still true that its definite character was given by him.

The leaders had recognized his ability during his visit in 1555-56, especially his great power in arousing the people by his preaching; and at the end of this visit he was induced to write his letter to the Queen Regent, urging her to hear the preaching of the Gospel. Before his return to the continent he had written "A Letter of Wholesome Counsel addressed to His Brethren in Scotland," and in 1557 he wrote a vigorous appeal to "His Brethren and the Lords Professing the Truth in Scotland," and in 1558 two further letters addressed to the Estates and to the Commonalty of Scotland. His familiarity with the contemporary movements in England, France, Germany and Switzerland, and his acquaintance with the great leaders of thought, gave him a position quite different from that which some of his critics would associate with his vocation as a preacher. The age in which the great ministers of State were churchmen can hardly be said to have passed when Richelieu had not yet appeared upon the stage. And it is only one of the many examples of the intense secular prejudice of our time that it is necessary to vindicate the claim of Luther, Calvin and Knox to rank among the great statesmen of the sixteenth century.

We have abundant evidence in Knox's writings that he had a very definite conception of his *rôle* as a statesman. He had been discussing with his friends the basis of government, and he came back to Scotland with well-developed opinions as to the obligation of the ruler to the people, as to the right of revolution against a faithless ruler, and as to the importance of the development of a self-conscious national life.

It is notable that Knox is in this, as in everything else, a representative of the Reformation movement. It is surprising how little he was affected by the Renaissance. His scholarship, his politics, his social ideas are entirely drawn from the elements of the Reformation movement; most distinctly from the Bible. He leaps at a bound to the Biblical doctrine of the mutual obligation

of ruler and ruled, to the essential quality of men before the law, and it was by his voice that the people of Scotland were summoned to conscious life and political significance. His Puritan morality was no more hostile to the corruption in Church and State, his Scriptural views of Church polity were no more opposed to the idolatry of the mass and the many human devices of the Roman system, than his Biblical views of the relations of man and man were destructive of the old order of Scottish government. He was, above all his contemporaries, alive to the broad national character of the Reformation, yet he never for a moment failed to assert the supremacy of the religious question. In this the great leaders of the Puritan party in England occupied exactly the same position.

When the right of Mary to have mass celebrated in Holyrood was conceded by the nobles, Knox declared: "That one messe was more fearful to him then gif ten thousand armed enemyes war landed in any pairte of the Realme, of purpose to suppress the hoill religioun." Under similar circumstances Sir John Eliot proclaimed in the Commons that "Religion is the principal thing." But neither of them meant to separate the question of religion from that of State. Both meant to assert, and to insist upon, the fact that the question was one and indivisible, and that the religious issue underlay the political, and unless it was carried to complete triumph the whole battle was lost.

Nothing more clearly illustrates this than the definite doctrine of the supremacy of the civil magistrate. His belief in the existence and permanence of one Church of Jesus Christ was utterly divorced from the ideal of the old order. To him it was the duty of the civil magistrate to maintain and promote the purity of the Church. This doctrine cuts to the core the silly charge that Knox would not have relieved Scotland of the burden of ecclesiastical domination, but would merely have shifted the dominion from pope to preacher.

It is true that in the system which was adopted under Knox's influence in the reforming Parliament of 1560 the Confession of Faith was adopted as a national Confession, and acts were passed sweeping away the Roman system and forbidding the mass under heavy penalties, extending to death upon conviction of a third offense. The intolerance of these acts is but a faint echo of the old order—"the rags of popery"—in which death was not only denounced but inflicted for very petty ecclesiastical offenses, as, for instance, under a proclamation of the Queen Regent, any one who disturbed the church service, bullied the priest or ate meat in Lent was threatened with death. But it is notable that they were never

pushed to extremity. Bishop Lesley, a Roman Catholic historian, has testified: "Yet the clemency of the heretic nobles must not be left unmentioned, since at that time they exiled few Catholics on the score of religion, imprisoned fewer, and put none to death." Truly by their fruits ye shall know them! It is also important to note that these acts followed the progress of reform and gave effect to what was already accomplished, and were the work of an almost unanimous and extraordinarily large assembly of the representatives of the Estates.

The Reforming Parliament directed the ministers to draw up a Confession of Faith. The work was executed in the brief space of four days by Knox and five other ministers. The major portion of the work seems to have been done by Knox, and it reflects his experience and spirit. Says Knox: "The Confession of Faith was read in face of Parliament and ratified by the three Estates of this realm at Edinburgh, the 17th day of August, [1560,] it was publicly read first in the audience of the Lords of the Articles, and after in audience of the whole Parliament. There were present not only such as professed Christ Jesus, but also a great number of the adversaries of our religion, such as the forenamed Bishops of St. Andrew's, Dunblane and Dunkeld, and some others of the Temporal Estate, who were commanded in God's name to object, if they could say anything against that doctrine. . . . Of the Temporal Estate, only voted in the contrary the Earl of Athol, the Lords Somerville and Bothwick; and yet for their disassenting they produced no better reason, but 'We will believe as our fathers believed.' The Bishops—Papistical, we mean—spake nothing" (Knox, *Hist.*, II, p. 121).

The Confession opens with a striking passage worthy of the zeal of the Church for the recovered purity of its faith: "Long have we thirsted, dear brethren, to have notified unto the world the sum of that doctrine which we profess, and for the which we have sustained infamy and danger"; and the preface contains a profession of readiness to change any passage which may be shown to be repugnant to God's Word, which is characteristic of its Scriptural basis. It contains twenty-five articles, is of a distinctly Calvinistic character, very freshly and cogently stated, breathing the spirit of the preacher rather than the schoolman, and was well fitted to be the expression of the vital faith of a people rising into self-conscious life. Its doctrine of the Church is a necessary part of the history of the times; the issue it makes with the Roman Catholic Church being fundamental.

"As we believe in one God, Father, Son and Holy Ghost: so do we most constantly believe, that from the beginning there has been and now is, and to the end of the world shall be, one Church, that is to say, one company and multitude of men, chosen of God, who rightly worship and embrace Him by true faith in Christ Jesus, who is the only head of the same Church, which also is the body and spouse of Christ Jesus, which Church is Catholic, that is, universal, because it contains the elect of all ages, of all realms, nations, and tongues, be they of the Jews or be they of the Gentiles, who have communion and society with God the Father, and with His Son Christ Jesus thro' the sanctification of His Holy Spirit. . . . This Church is invisible, known only to God, who alone knows whom he has chosen."

It is remarkable that Knox printed but a single sermon. We owe that to the fact that it was the occasion of an attempt to silence him in 1565. "Upon the XIX day of August the King came to Sanctgellis Kirk," says the *Diurnal of Occurrents*, "and Johne Knox preachit: guhairat he was crabbit, and causit discharge the said Johne of his preitching." Knox's explanation of his reason for printing this sermon contains an interesting bit of autobiography: "John Knox, the servant of Jesus Christ, in preaching of his holy evangel, to the benevolent reader desireth Grace and Peace with the spirit of righteous judgment."

"Wonder not, Christian Reader, that of all my study and travail within the Scriptures of God these twenty years, I have set forth nothing in exponing any portion of Scripture except this only rude and indigest sermon preached by me in the public audience of the Church of Edinburg. . . . That I did not in writing communicate my judgment upon the Scriptures I have ever thought and yet think myself to have most just reason. (For considering myself rather called of my God to instruct the ignorant, comfort the sorrowful, confirm the weak and rebuke the proud by tongue and lively voice in these most corrupt days than to compose books for the age to come, seeing that so much is written, . . . and yet so little well observed; I decreed to contain myself within the bonds of that vocation whereunto I found myself especially called. . . . This sermon is it that so offendeth such as would please the Court, and yet will not appear to be enemies to the truth, that they dare affirm that I have exceeded the bounds of God's messenger. I have, therefore, faithfully committed unto writing whatsoever I could remember might have been offensive in that sermon; to the end, that as well the enemies of God's truth, as the professors of the same,

may either note unto me wherein I have offended or at the least cease to condemn me before they have convicted me by God's manifest word. If any man think it easy unto me to mitigate by my pen the inconsiderate sharpness of my tongue . . . I answer that neither am I so impudent that I will study to abuse the world in this great light, neither yet so void of fear of my God that I will avow a lie in his own presence" (*Works*, VI, 229-230).

It is, however, to the Book of Discipline that we must turn for the fullest expression of the statesmanship of Knox. It unfortunately was never adopted by the Parliament, though it was approved by the General Assembly, and profoundly impressed itself upon the policy of the Church. It contained too many of what Lethington called "devout imaginings" for a nobility whose hands were far from unstained by participation in the spoils of the monasteries and churches. Drawing freely upon the Church orders of other countries, especially upon Calvin's for the Church of Geneva, the spiritual foundation was first laid, particular provision was then made for the temporary and future ministry, then with a broad conception of the needs of the nation as well as the Church, a noble plan for popular education was elaborated, and finally a scheme for the utilization of the property of the Church and a comprehensive scheme for public charities was proposed.

Could these large plans have been carried out in their completeness the future of Scotland would have been secure. As it was a lofty ideal was set before Church and nation, and by the inspiration of that ideal Scotland has ever been guided. Who shall say that the land has not been the better for the necessity of struggling to keep this high trust. For after all it is sometimes only through conflict that men attain to the highest appreciation of the most precious spiritual possessions.

Knox returned to Scotland in May, 1559. The revolution was fully inaugurated at Perth a few days later. Mary of Guise was deprived of the regency on the 23d of October, and died the 11th of June following. The reforming Parliament met in August, 1560. On the 17th it ratified the Confession of Faith, and on the 24th the act abolishing popery and establishing the national Kirk. On December 20 the first General Assembly convened in Edinburgh. Thus was the reformation accomplished.

Queen Mary, however, withheld her sanction from the acts of this Parliament, and they had to take their chance of validity with the acquiescence of ruler and people as in the acts of a *de facto* Government. Mary returned to Scotland August 20, 1561, and for

the whole period of her residence in Scotland (to May 16, 1568) the reforming party had to play a desperate game with her craft and dissimulation. The practical triumph came with the flight of Mary to England and the establishment of Murray in the regency. Not until the last act in Mary's stormy career, when, an actress to the end, she laid her head upon the block in Fotheringay Castle (February 8, 1587), was the settlement complete.

From the summer of 1560 to the end of his life, November 24, 1572, Knox was minister of St. Giles. It was from his official position as the minister of the principal church of the capital that he was enabled to wield such an influence and withstand every effort to silence him. The unfailing support of his people was to him as was the support of London to Pym in the great Puritan conflict in England. From St. Giles the later unnamed blasts against the monstrous regiment of Mary Stuart shook the palace of Holyrood, and caused the stout preacher to be summoned to the presence chamber. It is not for me to devise careful arguments to justify or excuse Master Knox for the plain speaking which he practiced in the palace as well as in the kirk. It was Mary herself who had flung away the royal cloak which covers a multitude of faults, and had set herself a naked shame in the gaze of all the world. It was not his own will, but, as we have seen, a higher voice which had called Knox to become a preacher of righteousness. Who was the loyal, the self-restrained, the admirable figure in the four closet dramas enacted by these two I leave any candid judge to decide.

To Knox was entrusted the task of committing to writing the history of the great epoch in which he played so great a part. Amid labors more abundant he set to work in the very crisis of the struggle with Mary upon his *History of the Reformation in Scotland*. Of it John Hill Burton has said: "There certainly is in the English language no parallel to that wonderful book in the clearness, vigor and picturesqueness with which it renders the history of a stirring period." A distinguished continental historian (Prof. Frk. Shieren) says Knox's delineation of the history of the Reformation in Scotland has been definitely placed above all that Great Britain can show of an earlier date in prose literature." Sir William Stirling Maxwell says: "Knox's portraits of his contemporaries are usually so lifelike that we feel persuaded they are true to nature." While Mr. Hume Brown has so finely described it that I cannot deny myself a long quotation (*Life of Knox*, II, pp. 222-4):

"Knox's *History of the Reformation* holds a unique place in English literature. As the work of one who both made and wrote history on a scale of such importance, it has an antecedent and special interest of its own. But in itself it possesses qualities which compel us to recognize it as a notable product of character and genius. . . . In his other works, with the exception of a few letters, it is as the politician or the theologian or the preacher that he exclusively presents himself. In his *History* there is a play of mind and feeling from which we may draw some image of the man with his innate aptitudes and affinities. The dominant characteristic of the book cannot be missed by the most casual reader—the abounding vitality that quickens it from the first page to the last. On the face of it, it is the production of one whose function it was to speak and not to write, whose habit it was to emphasize with tone and gesture every sentence that rose to his lips. The intensity of the writer's likes and dislikes would of itself save the book from dullness; but his energy of feeling is manifest in the smallest details with which he concerns himself. The notion of Knox as a one-eyed fanatic, groaning under the burden of his mission, is certainly not borne out by these two volumes of his *History*. On every page the fact is thrust upon us that he was the keenest of observers, and that he had a specially wide knowledge of the practical aspects of life. When he describes a battle, as he more than once has done, it is with the gusto of one whose immediate ancestors had died under the banner of their feudal superior. From the 'meary bourds' (lively jests) with which he enlivens his narrative, we may infer that his daily conversation was not always of justification and predestination; but that he could tell his story and exchange his jest as time and place were fitting. What distinguishes him from men like Calvin or Savonarola is precisely that sense of a humorous side of things which made him at once a great writer and a great leader of men. Of the value of this quality in the conduct of human affairs he was himself perfectly conscious, and deliberately employed it both in his writings and in his dealings with his fellows. 'Melancholius ressons,' he said in one of his debates with Lethington, 'wald haif sum myrth intermixed.' Studied anticlimax, grim irony, humorous exaggeration are as distinctively his characteristics as they are those of Carlyle, in whom also they are relieving qualities to narrow intensity and an overbearing temper. With humor is usually found pity and the power of pathos; and in Knox, more than once, his harsh austerity softens into a mood the more impressive that it comes so seldom."

No better example of both matter and style can be given than the famous narrative of the fourth interview with Queen Mary.

"The Queen in a vehement fume began to cry out, that never Prince was haudled as she was.

"*Queen Mary*: 'I have borne with you in all your rigorous manner of speaking both against myself and against my uncles. Yea, I have sought your favor by all possible means. I offered unto you presence and audience whensoever it pleased you to admonish me; and yet I cannot be quit of you! I vow to God I shall be once avenged!'

"With these words scarcely could Marna, her secret chamber-boy, get napkins to hold her eyes dry for the tears: and the howling beside womanly weeping stayed her speech. The said John did patiently abide all the first fume, and at opportunity answered:

"*John Knox*: 'True it is, Madam Your Grace and I have been at divers controversies in which I never perceived your Grace to be offended at me. But when it shall please God to deliver you from that bondage of darkness and error in which you have been nourished for the lack of true doctrine Your Majesty will find the liberty of my tongue nothing offensive. Without the preaching place, Madam, I think few have occasion to be offended at me. There, Madam, I am not master of myself. But must obey Him who commands me to speak plain and to flatter no flesh upon the face of the earth.'

"*Queen Mary*: 'But what have ye to do with my marriage?'

"*John Knox*: 'If it please Your Majesty patiently to hear me, I shall show the truth in plain words. I grant Your Grace offered unto me more than ever I required; but my answer was then, as it is now, that God hath not sent me to wait upon the courts of Princes, nor upon the chambers of Ladies; but I am sent to preach the evangel of Jesus Christ to such as please to hear it. It hath two parts—Repentance and Faith. Now, Madam, in preaching Repentance of necessity it is that the sins of men be so noted that they may know wherein they offend, But the most part of [your nobility are so addicted to your affections that neither God's Word nor yet their Commonwealth are rightly regarded. Therefore it becometh me so to speak that they may know their duty.'

"*Queen Mary*: 'What have you to do with my marriage? Or what are you in this Commonwealth?'

"*John Knox*: 'A SUBJECT BORN WITHIN THE SAME, MADAM. And albeit I be neither Earl, Lord, nor Baron within it, yet hath God made me (how abject soever I be in your eyes) a profitable member

within the same. Yea, Madam, to me it appertains no less to forewarn of such things as may hurt it if I foresee them than it doth to any of the nobility; for both my vocation and my conscience crave plainness of me. Therefore, Madam, to yourself I say that which I spake in public place: whensoever the nobility of this Realm shall consent that ye be subject to an unfaithful husband they do as much as in them lieth to renounce Christ, to banish His truth from them, to betray the freedom of this Realm, and perchance they shall in the end do small comfort to yourself.'

"At these words howling was heard and tears might have been seen in greater abundance than the matter required. John Erskine of Dun, a man of meek and gentle spirit, stood beside and entreated what he could to mitigate her anger. He gave unto her many pleasing words of her beauty, of her excellence, and how all the Princes of Europe would be glad to seek her favor. But all that was to cast oil on the flaming fire. John Knox stood still without any alteration of countenance for a long season; while the Queen gave place to her inordinate passion.

"In the end he said: 'Madam, in God's presence I speak. I never delighted in the weeping of any of God's creatures. Yea, I can scarcely well abide the tears of my own boys whom my own hand correcteth; much less can I rejoice in your majesty's weeping. But seeing I have offered to you no occasion to be offended, but have spoken the truth as my vocation craves of me, I must sustain, albeit unwillingly, your majesty's tears rather than I dare hurt my conscience or betray my Commonwealth through my silence.'"

Such, as I conceive, was John Knox, his mind and heart. As for his external appearance there is little information at our command. And, after all, the outer shell, the mere husk of the man, counts for but little. Several portraits of him have been preserved and more than one pen picture, from which we gather that he was below the middle height in stature, that his hair and eyes were dark, his eyes large and full of fire, and that his beard flowed down abundant on his breast. It was not his physical stature, then, that made him such an imposing figure in the pulpit, but the spiritual height to which he attained. Nor was there any rare grace of person which made him so persuasive in his ministrations to his sisters in God, such as Mistress Elizabeth Bowes and Mistress Anna Locke, and so commanding even in the presence chamber of the queen. Yet it is plain enough that he was of the Boanergian order. His spirit has drawn its earliest inspiration from him whose name he bore and to whom the Lord first applied

the term, and the eagle is as fit a symbol for him whose spirit soared amid the storm-clouds that for a time obscured the skies of the far-off northern kingdom, as for him whose name was drawn from the tempests of storm-tossed Galilee. Both amid manifold perils endured to the end, both, we may confidently affirm, entered into the fullness of the inheritance promised to him that overcometh.

Easton, Pa.

ETHELBERT D. WARFIELD.

III.

THE CODE OF HAMMURABI AND THE BOOK OF THE COVENANT.

ON the discovery of the ancient code of laws bearing the name of Hammurabi, Biblical scholars instinctively instituted comparisons between it and the legal codes imbedded in the Old Testament. Naturally the first attempts at drawing parallels were of a general character. The interest of the investigator was centred in mere external similarities and differences. Even later researches, in many instances, have been made without attempting to solve any specific problem in the field of Old Testament literary and historical criticism.

This failure to bring the Code of Hammurabi to bear upon specific problems of Higher Criticism is significant, and probably has a twofold reason. The school of Graf-Wellhausen, which now dominates the field of Old Testament criticism, regards its own principles and contentions as axiomatic. These need no further proof, and a reexamination of them in the light of such a marvelous archaeological discovery as that of the Code of Hammurabi is in the view of this school without profit. I hope to show in this paper that the reopening of some problems is legitimate and justifiable.

The attitude assumed by many Old Testament critics toward a certain school of archaeologists is not entirely groundless. Driver* gives expression to this view: "The attempt to refute the conclusions of criticism by means of archaeology has signally failed. The archaeological discoveries of recent years have, indeed, been of singular interest and value; they have thrown a flood of light, sometimes as surprising as it was unexpected, upon many a previously dark and unknown region of antiquity. But, in spite of the ingenious hypotheses which have been framed to prove the contrary, they have revealed nothing which is in conflict with the generally accepted conclusions of critics." This passage, read in the light of a note, shows that the author has in mind the school of Hommel and Sayce.† This group of archaeologists has collected a great amount of material, but it is frequently exceedingly difficult

* Driver, *Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testament*, p. xviii.

† Driver, *op. cit.*, p. 158.

to see its exact bearing upon the enigmas and problems of Old Testament literary criticism. Archæologists are not always eminently successful in bridging the gulf between archæology and criticism.

This failure is due to the fact that the archæologist does not recognize the difference between the literary and the historical aspects of the problem. It is a fair statement to make that the discovery of monuments and inscriptions has not touched the question of literary analysis. These have spoken neither pro nor con. Still, it appears to the present writer that the literary critic fails to see the full bearing of archæological material upon many questions which his literary analysis has raised. Without indulging in fanciful exegesis, without going far afield to draw hasty inferences which might suit our predilections, we may study a single specific problem of Old Testament Higher Criticism from the vantage ground of the Code of Hammurabi.

The particular problem attacked in this paper is the date of the codification of the Book of the Covenant. To institute general comparisons between the Babylonian Code and those of the Hebrews is worthless, so far as literary criticism is concerned. The alembic of analysis dissolves the Pentateuch into documents, each with its own code of laws. The Book of the Covenant is the code of JE, and in this paper the discussion is confined to the problem of the date of the codification of the laws contained in this section of Exodus. Apart from all questions of analysis, date, and authorship, it is very advantageous for the purposes of discussion to keep separate the codes of JE, D, and P, as only by following this method can any definite results be reached.

The origin of the Book of the Covenant ought not to be shrouded in mystery. The writer of Ex. xxiv. 7, be he Moses or be he JE, or E¹ or E², gives us explicit information: "And he (*i.e.*, Moses) took the Book of the Covenant, and read it in the audience of the people." There is a consensus of opinion among scholars that the book referred to in this passage contained the code of laws found in Ex. xx. 22-xxiii. The writer of the verse just quoted certainly regarded Moses as the compiler of this legal code. It seems almost foolish to mention the statement of Ex. xxiv. 7, as it has long since been cast overboard as a baseless tradition. After this rejection, the ship of literary and historical criticism has drifted hither and thither without chart or compass. That the figure of a ship drifting about on a trackless sea is not an empty metaphor but presents the sober truth, will be confirmed, if we but glance at the very divergent dates assigned to this code by the corypheai of Old Testament criticism.

Reuss* was of the opinion that this code was a product of the legal reforms of the reign of Jehosaphat; Wildeboer† assigns it to the Northern Kingdom, and holds the priesthood of Bethel responsible for its promulgation; Stade‡ thinks Israelitish civilization could not possibly have produced such a code as the Book of the Covenant until the reign of Manasseh. Cornill§ makes the pendulum swing to the other extreme, setting the reign of David as the absolute *terminus a quo*. Driver|| makes the cautious statement that the ordinances forming the basis of the Book of the Covenant must have existed in written shape, before they were incorporated in E. König,¶ the master of Bonn, is the only one of the recent German writers on Old Testament Introduction who regards this section of Exodus as substantially Mosaic.

This school of literary criticism is sure that the tradition in regard to the compiler and date of the Book of the Covenant (Ex. xxiv. 7) is false, but its critics are uncertain regarding the date to be assigned to this legislation. When scholars, equally learned and with equal critical acumen, let the date of a piece of literature range between the reigns of David and Manasseh, we may be pardoned if we assume that they do not know its date and are indulging in the pastime of solving a puzzle or riddle. At any rate, with the rejection of ancient tradition, the question of the date of the compilation of the Book of the Covenant is an open one. Where so much uncertainty prevails, nothing of the nature of an axiom exists. Such being the problem, perhaps the legal system of Hammurabi, "the wise king," may assist in its solution.

The Code of Hammurabi touches the Biblical Codes largely in the enactments of the Book of the Covenant. Correspondences exist between the Babylonian Code and some of the laws of D and P. But these parallels are of a somewhat general nature, and involve principles imbedded in the earlier legislation of the Book of the Covenant; they do not concern us in the investigation of our present problem—the date of the laws of Ex. xx. 22–xxiii.

In discussing the question before us, it is necessary to note briefly

* Reuss, *Die Geschichte der Heiligen Schriften A. Ts.*, § 200.

† Wildeboer, *Die Literatur des A. Testaments*, § § 7, 15.

‡ Stade, *Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, Vol. I, p. 638.

§ Cornill, *Einleitung in d. A. Test.*, p. 69.

|| Driver, *op. cit.*, p. 122.

¶ König, *Einleitung in d. A. Testament*, p. 186f. He regards the contents of Ex. xx. 1–17, xx. 22–xxiii. 33, xxxiv. 10–26 as Mosaic; his own term is "*das Mosaische Erbe*."

This tradition is very early, for Ex. xxiv. 7 is assigned to JE; Dill., J; Well., JE; Budde, E; Kuenen and Cornill, E².

the structure and general characteristics of the Book of the Covenant. This code possesses two distinct elements; laws regulating the religious life of the people, and criminal procedure. The Roman distinction between *fas* and *jus* is clearly made. The technical Hebrew term for the former is "words," for the latter "judgments." The Babylonian Code confines itself to civil and criminal jurisprudence. Hence, as might be expected, the parallels between the Code of Hammurabi and the Book of the Covenant are limited to the "judgments" of the latter. Thus our problem is simplified, and consists in examining the Code of Hammurabi as far as it resembles the **כִּשְׁפָטִים** of the Book of the Covenant, and runs parallel with them.

There are twenty-four of the enactments of the Code of Hammurabi which are more or less analogous to certain laws of the Book of the Covenant. The formal resemblances are striking, and the similarities in literary style are not without significance. In order fully to appreciate this let us put them in parallel columns, following Dr. J. Jeremias in his *Moses und Hammurabi*, pp. 31-35.

BOOK OF THE COVENANT.

Ex. xxi. 2: If thou buy a Hebrew servant, six years he shall serve: and in the seventh he shall go out free for nothing.

xxi. 7: And if a man sell his daughter to be a maid-servant, she shall not go out as the men-servants do.

xxi. 8: If she please not her master, who hath espoused her to himself, then shall he let her be redeemed: to sell her unto a foreign people he shall have no power, seeing he hath dealt deceitfully with her.

xxi. 11: (Referring to a female slave.) And if he do not these three things unto her, then shall she go out for nothing, without money—*i.e.*, the slave is free if her master withholds from her her rights as concubine.

CODE OF HAMMURABI.

117. If a man be in debt and sell his wife, son or daughter, or bind them over to service for three years, they shall work in the house of their purchaser or master; in the fourth year they shall be given their freedom.

117. Runs parallel with this also.

280. If a man purchase a male or female slave of a man in a foreign country, and if, when he comes back to his own land, the (former) owner of the male or female slave recognizes his male or female slave—if the male or female slave be native of the land—he shall grant them their freedom without money.

171. But if the father during his lifetime have not said to the children which the maid-servant bore him "My children"; after the father dies, the children of the maid-servant shall not share in the goods of the father's house with the children of the wife. The maid-servant and her children shall be given their freedom. The children of the wife may not lay claim to the children of the maid-servant for service.

It is unnecessary to quote the other parallel laws in full, for two characteristics common to both are apparent. Both are couched in the same literary form,* and both are judge-made laws, *i.e.*, neither of the two lays down general principles, but selects particular instances as normative.

No adequate idea of the degree of resemblance can be gained, without studying the other twenty judgments, for which parallels are found in the Book of the Covenant. The four laws concerning slaves have been given to indicate the resemblance in form as well as in procedure. Those that are now to be adduced will indicate the extent of the resemblance.

BOOK OF THE COVENANT.

CODE OF HAMMURABI.

Impiety.

xxi. 15: Crime: the smiting of father or mother. Penalty: death.

195. Crime: son striking father
Penalty: loss of hand.

Kidnapping.

xxi. 16: Kidnapping an adult for the slave market punishable with death.

14. Kidnapping of a minor: death penalty.

Injuries to Body.

xxi. 18-19: If one man injures another seriously, the former must support the latter during the period of incapacitation and pay his physician.

206. Unintentional injury: penalty payment of physician's bill.

xxi. 22: The man who inflicts injury upon a pregnant woman must pay damages to her husband.

209. For a similar offense a fine of ten shekels.

xxi. 26: The master who destroys the eye of a slave must manumit his bondman.

199. The same injury inflicted presumably upon another man's slave, the guilty person is to pay half the price of the slave to his master.

Injuries Caused by Animals.

xxi. 28: In case of death caused by the goring of a bull, the animal is to be slain and the owner goes scot-free.

250. Similar injury: the owner goes unpunished.

xxi. 29: In case the injury is due to negligence upon the part of the owner, the death penalty is to be visited upon him.

25. Similar case: the penalty is fine of one-half mana.

xxi. 32: If an ox gore a slave, his master is to receive a compensation of thirty shekels, and the ox is stoned.

252. For similar injuries, the master of the slave receives one-third mana (20 shekels).

* The judgments of the Book of the Covenant are introduced by either 'ו or 'נ, and the enactments of the Code of Hammurabi by *sum-ma*.

Cattle-stealing.

xxi. 37: The man guilty of stealing and selling oxen or sheep was compelled to pay a fine of five oxen and four sheep.

262 and 263. The text of 262 is partially lost, but the portion preserved and 263 indicate that a similar offense is in the mind of the lawgiver.

Self-defense.

xxii. 1: A thief caught in the act: death through blood revenge.

22. A brigand was punishable by death.

Theft.

xxii. 2: Theft by daylight: penalty imposed was restitution or slavery.

8. Theft: penalty restitution ten or thirtyfold, or, in lieu of compensation, death.

Pasturing of Cattle.

xxii. 4: If cattle enter a field or vineyard, restitution on part of the owner of animal.*

57. Similar offense: the penalty is restitution.

Violation of Property Rights.

xxii. 6: Theft of a deposited article: the thief is required to pay double.

125. Similar case: the thief pays double, but in any case the deposittee is responsible.

xxii. 8: The possessor of a stolen article must justify his right to possession before God, *i.e.*, in the sanctuary.†

9. The purchaser of stolen property must in like manner justify himself by witnesses in the presence of God.

xxii. 9-10: Loss of and injury to cattle entrusted to another party: an oath to settle matter.

266. A similar case: similar settlement.

xxii. 11: In case of cattle being stolen, the party to whom they were entrusted must make restitution.

267. A shepherd who loses animals through carelessness must make restitution to owner.

xxii. 12: In case the animal is injured by a wild beast, there is no penalty.

244. Identical.

Fornication.

xxii. 15: Fornication with an unbetrothed virgin: penalty payment of dowry and compulsory marriage.

130. Fornication with a betrothed virgin: penalty death for the man, the raped virgin goes free.

Debts.

xxii. 25: The distraint of a garment prohibited.

241. An ox could not be seized for a debt.

Bribery.

xxiii. 8: Judge is forbidden to receive a bribe.

4. A bribed witness becomes liable to the penalty imposed.

* This presupposes agriculture.

† Both codes reveal the custom of visiting the sanctuary for the adjudication of difficult legal questions. In Ex. xxi. 6, xxii. 9 the parties are said to come before God (אֵל הָאֱלֹהִים). In the Code of Hammurabi 9, 266 *et al.* the witnesses . . . shall give testimony in the presence of God (*ma-har i-lim*).

The correspondences, in both their nature and their extent, are significant. They lead but to one conclusion, which has been well expressed by Joh. Jeremias:* "These similarities and resemblances between the Book of the Covenant and the Code of Hammurabi would be an enigma, if one were not to assume a real connection between the legal systems of the two peoples and associate them together." What the probable connection between the two systems was we shall see later.

The student, however, is not in a position to bring the fact of these resemblances to bear upon our problem, without noting the great dissimilarities between the two legal systems. These differences are very striking. They may first be stated in a general manner. The Book of the Covenant reveals a state of society simple and homogeneous and a people still in the nomadic state, while the Code of Hammurabi presents a heterogeneous social organization already far advanced in trade and commerce. In the society for which the Book of the Covenant legislated there are only two social classes—the master and the slave. This distinction is common to all civilizations of antiquity. But it is just at this point that the Code of Hammurabi stands in striking contrast with the Hebrew legislation. It recognizes three well-defined social grades—first, the gentleman or aristocrat, second, the commoner or plebeian, and third, the slave who is subject to *corvée*.† A tribal democracy forms the background of this section of Hebrew legislation, while the Code of Hammurabi clearly reveals a feudal aristocracy.

The class legislation of the Babylonian Code is a sure index of the complexity of society in Hammurabi's realm. The feudal system of Babylon is made especially prominent by the mention of a class termed *rid šâbê* which Harper translates, recruiting officer and Johns, ganger or levy-master. Another set of officials is termed *bâ'irum*, and it is a question whether they are not to be identified with the *rid šâbê*, although Harper translates it by constable.‡ The votaries also (*ḫadištum*) who are devoted to the service of Šamaš or Marduk form a distinct legal class. Laws regulating the conduct of trades and professions indicate the stage of development at which the civilization of the nation had arrived. Physicians seemed to need the curb of the law in that day as well as in our own, §§ 215–227; contractors and builders were

* Joh. Jeremias, *Moses und Hammurabi*, p. 35.

† In the code itself the three classes are designated respectively as *awilum*, *muškênum* and *ardu-amtum*.

‡ Z. A., Vol. XVIII, p. 202f, Daiches discusses the subject in full.

not only watched, but dishonesty on their part was visited with adequate penalties, §§ 228-233; boatmen came in for their share of attention, §§ 234-240; the use of the canals for irrigation was regulated, §§ 53-56. There were legal scales for wages and hire—wages of a field-laborer, §§ 257-258; of a shepherd, §§ 261-266, and the hire of an ox, §§ 242-249.

Imagination can reconstruct the variegated scene which forms the background of the Code of Hammurabi. We see the farmer plowing, sowing, and irrigating his fields; the soldier marches past on his way to a foreign campaign. The hum of commerce and industry greets the ear. The wagons rumble along loaded with the harvests of fertile fields. Bales of merchandise lie upon the quays, while ships freighted with rich cargoes float down the waters of the Euphrates. Artisans, merchants, and traders crowd the streets. It was for such a civilization that Hammurabi legislated.

On the other hand, the Book of the Covenant knows nothing of this complexity of social organization. A pastoral or a semi-pastoral stage of society is contemplated.* Emphasize as strongly as we may the enactments of the Book of the Covenant which imply a settled life, the horizon of the compiler is certainly bounded by a stage of society in transition from a pastoral to an agricultural state. Every man is engaged in either grazing or agriculture. In this Hebrew Code there is no legislation for special classes, or for artisans, or for merchants. In the Code of Hammurabi not only do we see the streets and buildings of the city through the veil of legal procedure, but they are expressly mentioned. It is a fact whose significance has not been sufficiently noted, that the words for 'city and village are not in the Book of the Covenant.† The contrast between the two codes appears most clearly in the matter of law courts. Law courts are unknown to this section of Hebrew legislation, where the right of blood revenge is prominent. In the Code of Hammurabi, however, this ancient Semitic custom has reached the vanishing point, and the judge (*da-a-a-nu-um*) is arbitrator. The judge is not named very frequently, but his existence is implied in the methods of procedure.

The Code of Hammurabi likewise implies a strong central government that regulated courts and legal procedure. The old tribal regulations appear in the Book of the Covenant, but with no

* Driver thinks an agricultural state of society is reflected by the Book of the Covenant; McCurdy a pastoral or semi-pastoral; Wildeboer (*op. cit.*, p. 94) emphasizes the primitive character of this society by calling attention to the absence of the conception of "capital."

† The words עִיר, כִּנְיָה, and חֶזֶר do not occur in Ex. xx. 22-xxiii.

central authority. The contrast between the two codes could be further developed, especially along the line of the relative severity of treatment of the same class of offenses. But enough has been said to justify the following general statement: "The one is addressed to the civilized citizens of a settled monarchy, the other to a nomad tribe."*

The similarities and the differences between the two systems are before us. Two conclusions force themselves upon the mind. First, in the light of the comparison, it is impossible to set a date later than the periods of the Judges and the early monarchy, as a *terminus a quo* for the Book of the Covenant. Second, the cogency of the arguments for rejecting the early tradition that Moses was the compiler has been shattered. The differences between the two systems especially support the first contention, and the resemblances, together with the impossibility of a late *terminus a quo*, make for the second. If the Book of the Covenant had been compiled and promulgated long after the conquest and monarchy, there would have been some enactment touching artisans and merchants as well as grazers. There would be at least an incidental reference to cities and city life. When Solomon in conjunction with Hiram developed commerce, there must have been a merchant class in Jerusalem. After David welded the kingdom together and sent armies out to foreign wars, one might expect a reference to soldiers in a legal code supposedly late. In arguing against the eighth century date of the Book of the Covenant, Lagrange† maintains that this Hebrew Code would have resembled the Babylonian more closely if it had originated in the days when Jerusalem had assumed an air of elegance. He further asserts that the difference between the two systems is a proof that the Book of the Covenant is the legal code of ancient semi-nomads. This argument may be carried back much further. Would the legal system of ancient semi-nomads be produced by the Hebrews after they had settled in Canaan and appropriated some of the elements of settled life? We believe it is self-evident that it would not. In describing the era of transition contemporary with the period of Judges and early monarchy, McCurdy‡ refers to the occupation of the people as follows: "Their work, whether commercial or industrial, would become greatly more specialized. New guilds of tradesmen would be added in the large cities, such as

* Sayce, *Expository Times*, Vol. XV, p. 76.

† *Revue Biblique*, Vol. XII, p. 27f.

‡ McCurdy, *History, Prophecy and the Monuments*, Vol. II, p. 123.

makers of agricultural implements, carpenters, bricklayers, stone-cutters." There is not a sign of this transition in the Book of the Covenant, and there is no historical basis for denying the possibility of the commencement of this transition, immediately after the conquest and contemporary with the settlement. The differences between the two codes lead to the conclusion that if the Book of the Covenant had been promulgated after the founding of the monarchy, it would have revealed a more complex civilization than it does.

So far our argument has only resulted in putting the *terminus a quo* of the Book of the Covenant much earlier. We have yet to show that the resemblances between the two legal systems make the traditional date more likely. This language is used advisedly; they do not absolutely prove it, since for such a literary problem an absolute mathematical demonstration is impossible.

A branch of critical scholarship, however far it departs from the traditional interpretation, accepts the belief in the existence of Hebrew tribes or clans long before the age of Moses.* It should be noted that it is customary to speak of the pre-Mosaic religion of Israel, which, of course, would be the cult of these clans. The latest treatment of this subject by Kautzsch† takes up this topic; Dillmann‡ has a chapter on the same subject. If the Hebrew clans had a religion before the days of Moses, did they not also have a system of laws? Probably they did not have a written code, but both the public and the private life of the tribes was regulated by some set of laws, even if they rested merely upon the common consent of the tribes. In the first instance we may assert that these laws were Semitic, and if Semitic, it would not be at all surprising to find in them traces of Babylonian influence. The original home of the Hebrew clans or tribes furnishes the clue. They emigrated from the banks of the Euphrates to the West-land. They took with them to their new homes the customs, manners, laws, and religious beliefs current in that part of the world. I am fully aware that, according to the conclusions of a certain school of criticism, I am on very debatable ground. There is the difficulty about the site of Ur-Kasdim; in the documents there is an apparent confusion of Haran with Ur-Kasdim as a starting-point of the emigration.§ Still there is no good

* Steuernagel, *Die Einwanderung der israelitischen Stämme in Kanaan*.

† *H. D. B.*, V, p. 613f., Kautzsch article, "Religion of Israel."

‡ Dillmann, *Alttestamentliche Theologie*, p. 82f.

§ P brings Abraham from Ur and regards Haran as a stopping-place on his migration westward, while J makes Haran the starting-point. Would there be this confusion in the documents if we possessed the J and P of the hypothesis complete?

reason, apart from the subtle refinements of a hypercritical literary criticism, for denying that Ur-Kasdim was the original home of Abraham. It is only on account of the difficulties, created by the literary analysis, that there is any question concerning the identification of Ur-Kasdim with the well-known city of Uru in Southern Babylonia. The majority of Assyriologists are agreed in identifying Ur with Mugheir, and it is only the man whose eyes are bounded by questions of mere literary analysis who will feel any difficulty in giving an unequivocal answer to this question.

Again, with respect to Abraham. No serious scholar will to-day maintain that this is the name of a depotentiated god. There are two theories which are battling for preeminence at the present time. There is the traditional view which looks upon Abraham as an individual, but interprets the various incidents of his life more or less broadly. A greater favorite among critical scholars is the theory which regards Abraham as a tribal name, and speaks of the narratives concerning the father of the faithful as Abraham sagas, while it looks upon all the patriarchal names as designations of tribes and clans. Fortunately for our present argument, it is not necessary to thresh the pros and cons for these theories. All we ask is the acknowledgment of Steuernagel's* position that the emigration of Abraham from Ur-Kasdim is historically correct, and that he is the tribal father of the Hebrews in a broad sense. For our argument, it is a matter of indifference whether an individual with his small retinue or a whole tribe migrated from Ur; in any case they took with them their religion and laws. Naturally, in the course of time their laws, as well as their customs, would be modified to meet new problems and conform to a new environment, but they would ever retain a flavor of the old home. In other words, these laws would be similar to those of the code prevailing on the banks of the Euphrates, with the modifications needful to meet new conditions. We could make this inference on *à priori* grounds. Now that the Babylonian Code has been actually discovered and on examination many "judgments" of the Book of the Covenant are found to closely resemble enactments of the Code of Hammurabi, the inference is strongly buttressed. The original home of the Hebrew tribes, the resemblances and the superior antiquity of the Code of Hammurabi point to the likelihood that these particular "judgments" were a part of the legal system of the Hebrew clans in the pre-Mosaic era.

Several hypotheses may be assumed to explain the resemblances

* Steuernagel, *op. cit.*, p. 68.

between the two codes. It might be said that a Jew of the Babylonian exile copied them in Babylon. We may dismiss this theory summarily, for, if it were true, the Book of the Covenant would betray the civilization of Babylon, and in no sense could it be styled the code of semi-nomads. If it were not for the connection established between Ur-Kasdim and the Hebrew tribes in the pre-Mosaic era, the similarities might be accounted for by supposing that both codes were derived from a common Semitic ancestor. This appears to be the opinion of Jeremias,* who advocates an Arabian origin for both the dynasty of Hammurabi and the legal knowledge of Moses. Arabia is the head of the stream which flowed in two different directions. Again, there is the theory of a later Babylonian influence upon the tribes in Canaan after the settlement, for Babylonian culture was at work in Palestine at a very early date. This will naturally be the view of those who maintain that the Book of the Covenant originated long after the settlement and the establishment of the monarchy. It has been well stated by Prof. C. Johnston:† "The land which from this time became the home of Israel had long been under Babylonian influence. . . . The old Babylonian law had long been in force in the land, and it can hardly be doubted that Israel adopted many of its provisions. But the foundation of the Babylonian law was the Code of Hammurabi, and thus the enactments of the old Babylonian king, formulated about 2250 B.C., passed more than a thousand years later into the Book of the Covenant, and so became the heritage of Israel and of the world." A writer holding the views of the school of Graf-Wellhausen could take no other position; but there are as good if not better grounds for saying that the Babylonian element was present among the Hebrew clans before the days of Moses, and through him these elements were woven into the Book of the Covenant. The facts adduced in the comparison of the two codes, if they do not positively establish the traditional date of the Book of the Covenant, certainly do make for it, and not against it.

According to our theory, Moses, the leader of the Hebrew clans in the Exodus, in his efforts to unite them and weld them into a nation, brought together and modified, where necessary, laws that had prevailed among the Hebrews from time immemorial. Such a view is supported by both the superior antiquity of the Code of Hammurabi and the resemblances which it bears to the "judgments" of the Book of the Covenant.

* J. Jeremias, *op. cit.*, pp. 46, 47.

† *Johns Hopkins University Circulars*, Vol. XXII, No. 163, p. 60.

A word further in regard to the tradition of Ex. xxiv. 7. The statement that Moses, the recognized leader of the Exodus and the real founder of the Hebrew religion, promulgated certain laws and codified them does not strain the reason one whit. No miracle is involved; no mythical features can be attributed to the statement; there are no *à priori* objections of a metaphysical nature.* Objections from the sphere of history, advanced by the Wellhausen school, are swept away by the Code of Hammurabi. The allusions to settled life and agriculture do not militate against this view. Wellhausen† believes in the historicity of Moses and the sojourn in Egypt, although he repudiates the idea that Moses came into touch with Egyptian culture. Yet we would scarcely regard the ox, the ass, the field, shocks of wheat and thirty pieces of silver as involving any very profound knowledge or intimate acquaintance with the civilization and culture of ancient Egypt. The knowledge of settled life and agriculture implied in the Book of the Covenant could have been obtained by a dweller in Goshen, even if he were a man of only ordinary intelligence.‡ Even if it could be proved that some of the references imply a knowledge of Canaan, the tradition of Ex. xxiv. 7 would still remain intact, for an allowance must be made for additions and changes at a later date.

Two critical corollaries may be deduced from the facts presented and the inferences which have been drawn from them. The school of Graf-Wellhausen is before the tribunal of Hammurabi. With them it has become axiomatic that the codification of the Book of the Covenant was impossible before the ninth century. Indeed, Stade has maintained with great confidence that this codification took place as late as the reign of Manasseh. Still more axiomatic is the formula Prophets and Law, but the axiom falls from its axiomatic pedestal in the face of the antiquity of the Babylonian Code, and in view of the evident relation and connection between the two legal systems.

* What Giesebrecht says in defending the historicity of the Sinaitic Covenant may *mutatis mutandis* be said of the tradition in regard to codification of a system of laws contained in the Book of the Covenant. Giesebrecht, *Die Geschichtlichkeit des Sinaibundes*, p. 25.

† Wellhausen, *Israelitische und jüdische Geschichte*, p. 11f.

‡ Wellhausen, *Prolegomena zur Geschichte Israels*, p. 400. The writer asserts that the people for whom the legislation of the Book of the Covenant was intended were far advanced beyond the first beginnings of "Geldwirthschaft." His basis for this statement is the references to silver and the price of an ox in Ex. xxi. 32, 35. A comparison with the Code of Hammurabi, which bristles with references to wages and fines, proves the very opposite of Wellhausen's statement. The primitive simplicity of the Hebrew Code in the matters of trade and business is striking in the light of the Code of Hammurabi.

Again, this discussion indicates another weakness of certain schools of Old Testament criticism. They have depended to too great an extent upon religion and the cultus to determine the dates of the Pentateuchal Codes.* The civilization which forms the background of the code has been neglected. It is reasonable to say that the stage of civilization reached is as fair a criterion of date as the cultus. Examine the epoch-making work of Wellhausen. Chapter after chapter deals with the data furnished by religious rites and ceremonies, while the facts of civilization are only hinted at here and there. The Code of Hammurabi, as it excludes religious matter, gives a new point of departure to the investigator. More and more concerning ancient Semitic civilization is coming to light, and consequently a real desideratum is a reexamination of the date of the Pentateuchal Codes, giving civil and criminal jurisprudence a proper place in the argument to determine the date of the various codes.

It is not maintained that the resemblances and differences between the Code of Hammurabi and the Book of the Covenant, with the greater antiquity of the former, either affect the problem of literary analysis or restore the traditional conception of Moses as author of the entire Pentateuch. But in our opinion these facts, by authenticating the traditional date of the Book of the Covenant, do overthrow the formula Prophets and Law, restore the old order Law and Prophets, and put into historical perspective the tradition that Moses was the author of the Sinaitic legislation.

*The Western Theological Seminary,
Allegheny, Pa.*

JAMES A. KELSO.

* One has but to read the *Prolegomena* (*op. cit.*) by Wellhausen to note what an exclusive emphasis is laid upon the ritual and cultus in determining the dates of the three codes. Likewise, in his refutation of the contentions of Wellhausen, Green (*The Higher Criticism of the Pentateuch*, chap. v) confines himself to the cultus.

IV.

THE ELEMENTS OF SHAKESPEARE'S GENIUS.

THE definition of genius is almost as diversified as is the personality of men of genius or that of leading literary critics. Just because in its characteristics and expression it is a something thoroughly unique, it is quite impossible to reduce it to an exact statement. Hence, the variety of view that we find. According to Johnson, "a genius is a mind of large general powers accidentally determined to some particular direction." In Schlegel's view, it is "the almost unconscious choice of the highest degree of excellence." "To believe your own thought," says Emerson, "to believe that what is true for you is true for all men," this is genius; while the French critic, Cousin, states it thus: "The rapid and vivid perception of the proportion in which the ideal and the real should be united." In these and similar declarations there are enough common features to cast some clear light on the nature of genius, and yet enough differences to leave the subject open to the judgment of the individual student. For our purpose and as applicable to Shakespeare, genius may be said to be the possession of extraordinary gifts and powers and the ability to utilize them in extraordinary forms. However specific and personal the genius of Dante or Homer or Milton or Shakespeare may be, as determined by heredity and environment, they were alike in this, that they possessed extraordinary faculty and function. Nor is it to be forgotten that genius, because it is unique and original, must have a much wider area of liberty than ordinary mental power—must be, at times, a law unto itself and consistently transgress or ignore established law. Herein lies the main distinction between genius and talent; between creative and mere constructive ability; between exceptional and average faculty. We are now prepared to note the specific elements of Shakespeare's genius, and, more especially, as evinced in the sphere of the drama. As it was here that he was eminent, it is here that he is to be studied and estimated.

1. A profound knowledge of man and men: of man in the abstract as involving a study of human nature in general, and of men in their concrete individuality, national and personal. He believed,

with Pope, that "the proper study of mankind is man," that literature and life were to be mutual interpreters. In the Historical Plays, we have an expression of this knowledge which is objective and visible, and character is revealed through some incident, event or action. In the Tragedies and Comedies, this knowledge is more interior and acute. Motives, dispositions, mental and moral qualities are examined. In fine, the psychology of human nature is now studied. In his Sonnets, this particular type of study becomes still more introspective, inasmuch as the autobiographical element enters to color and intensify it. When it is said by Sprague "that he looked creation through," the reference is not merely to his observation of external phenomena, but to his study of subjective life. It was an outlook and an inlook, and these together, so that the result was a thorough and comprehensive examination of men and the world. First and last, Shakespeare was an interpreter of man to man, a mediator of the truth.

2. A knowledge of truth as truth, in addition to a knowledge of it in its relations and applications. To inferior and even to average minds truth, to be seen at all, must be presented under certain well-established forms, in current, conventional ways. Shakespeare looked at truth directly and immediately. As a writer has expressed it, "He thought in the lump," and not through the medium of detached statements and formal comparisons. He was conversant with what is called a body of truth, truth in its essence and entity, as the sum total of human thinking and experience. Hence the "immense suggestiveness" of the poetry of Shakespeare, meaning so much more than it affirms, thus inviting and rewarding investigation, as fresh now as when first penned, and insured beyond the possibility of decline. When Schlegel tells us "that in profundity of view he was a prophet," there is a reference to this penetrating vision which the great dramatist had of essential truth and verities, so that he was not and could not be superficial. He saw truth and life "steadily and saw it whole."

3. Mental affluence and versatility. It is with the many-sided and myriad-minded poet that we are here dealing. Nor is it simply meant that Shakespeare wrote so many sonnets and plays. Other English authors have written more in verse and prose. His versatility was mental rather than literary, capable of producing vastly more than it did, had the occasion demanded it. His affluence was a latent resourcefulness, equal to any call that might be made upon it. The Elizabethan dramatist, Webster, speaks of "his

happy and copious industry." His intellectual ability was copious, full of cumulative power, of which, after every exercise of it, a surplus always survived, as the guarantee of renewed expression. Hence we fail to discover in Shakespeare's mental personality the ordinary evidences of limitation and diminishing resources. He was a kind of general specialist, taking, as Bacon would say, all truth and knowledge for his province, his purpose being the intellectual expansion of his fellows.

One of the best tests and evidences of this intellectual affluence is found when we inquire as to—Where Shakespeare was the ablest? What was his forte? Was it in tragedy or comedy? Was it in conception or construction of plot or in the sphere of characterization? These are still unsettled questions and defy final solution. The fact is, his power was so general and central and symmetrically developed that he was confessedly conspicuous in no one feature above another, the only exception being that in his lyric poetry he is not as great as in his dramatic verse. In this mental affluence is also explained the fact that the study of the Shakespearian drama is one of the highest forms of mental discipline, and he who approaches it in any other spirit fails to approach it aright. A mere drawing-room acquaintance or æsthetic coquetting with such productions as *Hamlet* and *Othello* is one thing. A study or mastery of them is another. If the modern stage cannot present and maintain this old Shakespearian drama, so much the worse for it and for the public to which it appeals and on whom it relies for patronage and stimulus. This fact is itself a tribute to the great dramatist's work, as the product of a master-mind and requiring a good degree of mental vigor and literary culture on the part of the modern public.

4. The imagination of Shakespeare is to be studied. The "vision and faculty divine" was his, one of the marks of genius being that it is, on the imaginative side, both a vision and a faculty. One of the main features of Shakespeare's imagination is seen in the fact that it expressed itself in no one exclusive form, philosophic, historic or poetic, but in all of them conjointly, as with Homer and Dante and Milton. Of Chaucer and Spenser and Pope and Wordsworth this cannot be affirmed, nor of any but the few world-poets. There was in his imagination at its highest the union of the natural and supra-natural, the real and the ideal, the present and the future, in such wise as to give to each its proper place and make the fusion all the more effective. He had thus the high inventive functions of the poet, "bodying forth the forms of things unknown"

and "giving to airy nothing a local habitation and a name." At times, he was excursive and descriptive, his eye "with a fine frenzy rolling" through all space and time. He was thus the greatest seer of English verse, presenting and re-presenting truth as he saw it in earth and heaven, in man and nature, in history and romance. Hence, the reality and ideality of his plays, realistic and romantic in one, their basis laid in truth and fact, and their superstructure rising to mid-heaven. Striking examples of figurative usage are thus seen in such an historic drama as *Julius Cæsar*, as examples of historic fact are found in such a comedy as the *Merchant of Venice* or such a romance as *The Midsummer Night's Dream*.

5. Pathos and passion are notable elements. The phrase "an impassioned imagination" is here in place, and expresses a radical principle that true feeling may be awakened and sustained, as it may be allayed and repressed, by the direct action of the imagination. Pity is engendered by holding up the object of pity clearly before the eye of the mind as a present reality. So love and hate, friendship and patriotism and religious zeal are awakened. The mental picture which the Crusaders formed of the cross and the indignities to which it was subjected at the hands of infidels filled the armies of Europe with soldiers eager to avenge the repeated insult. In Shakespeare we naturally look for such an emotive element, as true genius never violates a fundamental law, nor omits to emphasize a normal principle of human nature. What especially marks the Shakespearian passion is, that it is an integral portion of the play in which it is present and is always under the control of reason, good sense and the central object of the play. In the most intense passages of the tragedies this is as true as in the more subdued and restrained utterances. Lear and Hamlet may be mad, but Shakespeare never. Timon, the misanthrope, may curse his birth and the world in truly pessimistic strain, but Shakespeare always preserves his serenity. His verse is thus, indeed, an inspiration, an embodiment of genuine sentiment, whether expressed in the quieter form of pathos or in the more demonstrative outbursts of tragic passion.

6. His twofold relation to his characters. On the one hand, he succeeds in identifying himself with them, while, on the other, he preserves, intact and distinct, his own poetic and human personality. When reading such an interpretation of characters as Shylock or Wolsey the hand of Shakespeare is manifest in all, and yet thoroughly concealed, in so far as to interfere in any way with the full expression of the character itself. The Jew and the king's cardinal are themselves in the drama, and yet the poet gives us,

in his own way, his personal estimate of such a vice as avarice or unrestrained political ambition. His characters are thus great generic types. They are not only personal characters, but corporate and collective, representative of a class of men and principles or of abstract virtues and vices, a kind of generalization in verse of that study of separate traits and tendencies of which he was such a master. Shakespeare's characters were characteristic, indicative of central qualities, a carefully conducted study in the philosophy of life. Hence his characterizations cannot be imitated with any degree of success. There is but one Hamlet and one Lear and one Juliet in literature, in the Shakespearian sense of that term, as unique as the Faust of Goethe, even though Marlowe's *Faustus* is a work of special merit. The mastery of the masters is nowhere more evident than here, as we find but one *Divina Commedia* and one *Don Quixote* and one *In Memoriam* and one *Canterbury Tales*, no one of them being approximately imitable, but severely singular and exclusive. Shakespeare was thus a poet of poets more truly than Spenser was a teacher of teachers. That he founded no school is to his credit. He was too great for any such pedagogic mission. A standard author himself, he did not impose a standard upon others or even invite the following of any class of literary craftsmen.

7. Truth to nature and life is noteworthy. There is an unstudied frankness in Shakespeare which at once impresses the reader and commands his interest and assent. There is the marked absence of effect for the sake of effect, of any device of word or phrase to mislead the reader. There is no taking advantage of what is allowable in dramatic verse in the line of impersonation. Nothing of the "start theatric" is present to surprise and overawe with what is called sensationalism. It is this ingenuousness that Pope has in mind when he says, "It is not so much that he speaks for nature as that she speaks through him." Shakespeare was thus true to the truth, whether it was found in the world without or in the soul of man. With all his genius, it was not his prerogative to impose upon truth any new meaning, but simply to act as an amanuensis and a messenger. He was thus a pronounced realist in the realm of dramatic verse. He held the "mirror up to nature" and faithfully recorded what he saw without bias or secondary motive. While there is a sense in which his sonnets are autobiographical, in the plays he loses sight of himself in the exposition of the truth. Hence, that unity of impression, that "inner unity" of all forms of truth, of which Lessing speaks, and which, according

to Guizot, is "the chief principle of dramatic art," the unity of truth in the world and in man, in literature and life.

INFERENCES.

From the brief examination of dramatic genius thus presented certain inferences arise, which seem to admit of varied interpretation as applied to Shakespeare.

1. As to whether Shakespeare has given us in his plays his best possible work. What is the relation of his expressed to his concealed power? With Shakespeare, as with Dante and other literary masters, it is quite conceivable that what is given us upon the printed page is but a fraction of the wealth of treasure stored in the mind and awaiting suitable verbal embodiment. The principle of latent heat or conserved energy in the physical world has its mental counterpart here. Inferior minds often express more than they really possess, making up for the lack of ideas in mere verbiage. In the highest order of minds, however, thought is deeper than language and, let the author do what he may, there is left a large residuum of unexpressed and unexpressible material. Thus the *Paradise Lost* is Milton's best extant work, but not as a matter of capability. So Shakespeare in his great tragedies struggles to embody approximately, at least, his ever-accumulating thought. Such a masterpiece as *Hamlet* is no higher in its mental reach above the productions of an ordinary playwright than is Shakespeare's dramatic possibility higher than *Hamlet* or *Lear*.

2. Whether we are to expect in the near future any worthy successors of Shakespeare, *a priori*, we should answer in the affirmative. If Shakespeare at his actual best was far from his possible best, why should there not arise another gifted poet of similar and even greater power, who might make even nearer approximation to the full expression of his thought. When Collier calls him "the perfect boast of his time," and Schlegel affirms "that Shakespeare and Calderon are the only two poets entitled to be called great," we are not to argue that the end of all literary perfection has been reached. *A priori*, the limit is undiscoverable and recedes as it is approached. One age is but the preparation for another. One author is but the herald of another and a greater. In fine, the literary world is supposed to move. Historically, however, the question assumes a different form. If such another genius is possible to the English race, why has he not appeared in the last three centuries? Why not, especially, in the last century? Numerous factors enter here—the law of action and reaction; the principle of

race, epoch, place and personality; the change of civilization in its type, and the element of divine providence in human history through the complex development of a people's life. This, at least, is true. There is no immediate prospect of another such dramatic age or master. The signs of the time point in different directions, though it is possible that out of the present dominance of realistic fiction some type of new dramatic power may yet emerge. The fact is, that the appearance of Shakespeare in the Elizabethan Age still remains a mystery. That poetry should have taken dramatic form in the new awakening was not so surprising, but the masterfulness of it is not so easily explained. As to Shakespeare, the surprise is increased when it is remembered that the stage was not at the time in high repute, that playwrights wrote mainly for bread, and that though the age was Golden as compared with the century and a half preceding it, it was, in many respects, an age of crudeness and partial development and faulty literary standards. Herein, indeed, is some basis of hope as to England's dramatic future, and herein lies the faith of those few prophets among us who are looking for the dawn of such a day and are bidding us be on our guard lest it take us by surprise.

3. As to whether Shakespeare was conscious of his gifts. In one of his sonnets, he writes—

"Desiring this man's art and that man's scope,"

thus acknowledging his inferiority to some of his contemporaries. We note with surprise his carelessness as to the publication and presentation of his dramas, written apparently for the time only, and with no reference to fame. Never has a poet written with less idea of literary repute. Indeed, Shakespeare wrote and acted, as Jonson, Marlowe and others of his contemporaries, for monetary ends. He went from Stratford to London in 1585, as other young men went to London, to seek and find a lucrative mission, preferring to find it in the composition and rendering of plays and as a shareholder in the Blackfriars' Theatre. Having accomplished this practical end, we do not find him continuing his residence in London and writing dramatic verse from the love of it. He returned to Stratford in 1610 with a competence, and for the enjoyment of a well-earned leisure, though it lasted but six years. Moreover, in Stratford, as late as 1600, plays were officially prohibited. Dramatists themselves did not hold their professions in high repute, and we cannot wonder that Shakespeare aimed at financial ends only. It has, in fact, been reserved for later eras to ascertain how gifted a genius Shakespeare was. So capricious is earthly renown.

4. As to how to account for the tardy recognition of Shakespeare and his work. We are not dealing with an author whose literary product is inferior or undeserving, but instinct with genius. In the Elizabethan Age he was but one among numerous dramatists; and if, here and there, there seemed to be the acknowledgment of his superiority, there was, also, an occasional thrust by way of satire against the attribution to him of any special gift. Even Dryden, a century later, wrote "that his idiom is a little out of use." Later still, Dr. Johnson, the critical authority of his day, omits his name in his *Lives of the English Poets*, discussing rather the work of Cowley, Denham, Waller and Rowe. From Elizabeth he received some notice, indeed, but quite too little, and more for the sake of the court than out of regard for the genius of the dramatist. In 1707, *King Lear* was spoken of "as an obscure piece," while Voltaire was not the only critic who classed him with the inferior poetasters of the nation, stating "that he wrote a number of farces called tragedies."

In seeking reasons for such neglect we note: The prevalence of foreign tastes in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries; the dominance of euphuism as a false conception of literature; the civil wars and commotions of the early Stuart dynasty; and the excesses of the Puritans in the days of Cromwell. All of which, in connection with the low status of the stage and dramatic art, would largely account for the comparative indifference of the age to its greatest author. The fact is, Shakespeare did not know himself in the fullness of his power, neither had the age come to the knowledge of itself—what it was as the first of the modern periods, and what it possessed in its more eminent authors. It was not till the eighteenth century, and partly through the influence of Germany, that English literature knew what it had in Shakespeare and began in earnest to defend and diffuse his fame.

The place of Shakespeare in English letters is now conceded by acclamation. "Milton and Shakespeare," says Walpole, "are the only two mortals who ventured beyond the visible and preserved their intellects." A genius, in every well understood sense of the word, looking higher and deeper than other men, revealing man to himself and the world, writing for all men and all time, he justifies the eulogium of Milton:

"Dear son of memory, great heir of fame."

When Coleridge, in his *Table Talk*, tells us "that Shakespeare has no manner," he simply means that he is "universal," a poet of man

and nature, one of God's ordained priests to minister at the altar of truth, and one of his ordained prophets to interpret the mind of God to men.

The main occasion, after all is said, of the so-called Baconian Theory of the Plays is seen in the fact that it is one of many attempts to account for such a genius on any known laws of human history and character. The English world has practically ceased to account for him, but accepts him as he is in his unique personality and work.

Princeton.

T. W. HUNT.

V.

ROYAL TITLES IN ANTIQUITY: AN ESSAY IN CRITICISM.

ARTICLE FIVE.

THE following article is the fifth of a series, whose design is to show that the statements made by Dr. Driver in his *Literature of the Old Testament*, pages 545 and 546, with regard to the titles of the kings of Persia, cannot be accepted unqualifiedly, and that the impression left by his notes and proofs is misleading and fallacious. In the first article, which occupied pages 257-282 of the number of this REVIEW for April, 1904, the author, after giving a full citation of Dr. Driver's remarks and notes upon the subject, proceeded to give an enumeration, as complete as possible, of the titles and designations of the kings of Persia. In the second article, which occupied pages 465-497 of the number for July, 1904, the titles of the kings of Babylon and Assyria were presented in like manner. In the third article, which appeared on pages 618-664 of the number for October, 1904, and on pages 55-80 of the number for January, 1905, were presented the titles of the kings of Egypt down to the conquest by Alexander. In the fourth article were given the titles of the Greek kings on the Egyptian monuments and papyri, on the cuneiform and Greek inscriptions and in the Greek historians and letters.

In the present article we shall give the titles found in the inscriptions of the Moabites, Aramæans, Sabæans, Phenicians, Nabatæans and Parthians; the kinds of titles found on coins; and, finally, the titles and designations of kings as given in the Hebrew Scriptures. For purposes of convenience, it has been thought best to reserve the summary for the October number of the REVIEW.

VARIOUS TITLES, SEMITIC, PARTHIAN, ET AL.

Titles on the Inscription of Mesha, king of Moab (ninth century B.C.).

1. "Omri" alone. l. 7.
2. "King of Israel." l. 10, 18.
3. "Omri, king of Israel." l. 5.
4. "Mesha, son of Chemoshgad, king of Moab." l. 1.

Titles from the Sendschirli Inscriptions (eighth century B.C.), et al.

1. The name alone, *e.g.*, "Panammu," Hadad *insec.*, 8, 17 *ter*, 21 *bis*, 22; Panammu *insec.*, 1. "Barrekub," Pan. *insec.*, 1. "Barşur," Pan. *insec.*, 3.

2. "The king" alone. Pan. *insec.*, 20(?).

3. "Barrekub, the son of Panammu." Pan. *insec.*, 19. Also in *insec.*, 4, Lidzbarski, p. 444.

"Panammu, the son of Krl." Pan. *insec.*, 5.

4. "Panammu, the son of Krl, the king of Yadi." Hadad *insec.*, 1, 14.

5. "Panammu, the son of Barşur, the king of Yadi." Pan. *insec.*, 1.

6. "Barrekub, the son of Panammu, the king of Samal, servant of Tiglath-Pileser, lord of the four lands." Building inscription, 1-4.

7. "My father" alone. Hadad *insec.*, 9; Building *insec.*, 4, 7 *bis*, 12.

8. "My father, Barşur." Pan. *insec.*, 2.

"My father, Panammu." *Id.*, 1, 16, 21.

9. "My father, Panammu, the son of Barşur." Pan. *insec.*, 15, 20 *bis*.

10. The following titles were given in these inscriptions to the king of Assyria:

(1) "King of Assyria." Pan. *insec.*, 7.

(2) "His lord, the king of Assyria." Pan. *insec.*, 11 *bis*; Building *insec.*, 9 (my lord).

(3) "His Lord, Tiglath-Pileser, the king of Assyria." Pan. *insec.*, 13, 15, 16.

(4) "My lord, Tiglath-Pileser." Building *insec.*, 6.

(5) "Tiglath-Pileser, the lord of the four lands." *Id.*, 3, 4.

11. In an inscription from Memphis occurs the phrase "Xerxes, the king of (kings, Egypt or Memphis)." *C. I. S.*, II, 122. Since only the first letter of the last word is legible, it is doubtful whether מִנְפּוֹ מִצְרַיִם, or מִלְכִּין, should be read. In a preceding article, I have presented reasons for preferring the reading "Egypt." See *P. T. R.*, II, 271.

Titles on the Sabaean Inscriptions.

1. Name alone, *e.g.*, "Yuha'in," 61, 200,* "Watar Yuha'min," 277; "[Karib'ili] Watar," 26.

2. "His father, Yasma'ili." 60.

* The numbers here refer to the pages of the *Codex Inscriptionum Semiticarum*, Pars Quarta, Vol. I.

3. "King of Saba." 28.
4. "Watar Yuha'min, king of Saba," 22; "Anmar Yuha'min, king of Saba," 244; "[Karâb'ili] Watar, king of Saba," 61, 74(?).
5. "Yasir Yuhaşdik, king of Saba and Raidan," 70; "La'azi Naufan Yuhaşdik, king of Saba and Raidan," 64. Compare 269. "Sair Watar, king of Saba and Raidan," *Z. A.*, XII, 284.
6. "Anmar Yuha'min, king of Saba, son of Wabh'ili." 271.
7. "Karib'ili Watar Yuham'in, king of Saba, son of Wabh'ili Yahuz, king of Saba." 6.
8. "Yuha'in Dhû Bîn, son of Yasma'ili, son of Samahkaribi, king of the Samaites." 60.
9. "His grandfather, Samah'afik, son of Samahyafi'i, king of the Sama'ites." 60.
10. "Their lord Damar'ali Jhbr, king of Saba and Dhu-raidan, son of Jasir Juhaşdik, king of Saba and Dhu-raidan." *Ephemeris*, II, 103.

Titles on the Phenician Inscriptions.

1. The Byblus Inscription. *C. I. S.*, I, 1:
 - (1) "Yhum(a)lk, king of Gbl, son of Yhrb'l, son of the son of 'rmlk, king of Gbl." l. 1, 2.
 - (2) "Yhumlk, king of Gbl." l. 7, 8, 12(?).
 - (3) "Righteous king," or "king of righteousness." l. 9.
 - (4) "Yhumlk . . . (?)." l. 12.
2. The Tebneth Inscription. Lidzbarski, IV, 1:

"Tbnth, priest of 'štrth, king of Sidonians, son of 'šmn'zr, priest of 'štrth, king of Sidonians."
3. The Eshmunazar Inscription:
 - (1) "King 'šmn'zr, king of Sidonians, son of king Tbnth, king of Sidonians." *C. I. S.*, I, 3, l. 1, 2.
 - (2) King 'šmun'zr, king of Sidonians." *Id.*, l. 2, 15.
 - (3) "'šmn'zr, king of Sidonians, son of king Tbnth, king of Sidonians, son of the son of king 'šmn'zr, king of Sidonians."
 - (4) "Lord of kings," for king of Persia. l. 18.
4. The Ma'sub Inscription:

"Ptlmis, lord of kings." Lidz., Taf. V, 3, l. 5, 6,
5. The Fragments from Limassol. *C. I. S.*, I, 5:

"Hrm, king of Sidonians."
6. The Citium Inscription. *C. I. S.*, I, 10:
 - (a) "King Pmyytn, king of Kty(?) and 'dyl, and Tns, son of king Mlkytn, king of Kty and 'dyl." l. 1, 2.
 - (b) "King Pmyythn, king of Kty and 'dyl, son of king Mlkytn, king of Kty and 'dyl." *C. I. S.*, I, 11, 92, and the same probably in *C. I. S.*, I, 14 and 16 and 17 and 18 and 19 up to 39.

7. The Idalium Inscription:

(1) *C. I. S.*, I, 88, 90: "King Mlkytn, king of Kty and 'dyl, son of B'lrn."

(2) *C. I. S.*, I, 91: "King of Mlktyn, king of Kty and 'dyl." *Id.*, Tamassus Inscription, Lidz., VI, 4, and *C. I. S.*, I, 88, 7, 89, 1.

(3) *C. I. S.*, I, 93: "The Lord of kings, Ptlmys, son of Ptlmy[s]."

8. The Larnax Lapithu Inscription:

a. "The Lord of kings (ארמלכם) Ptlmys." *C. I. S.*, I, 95.

b. "Ytnb'l, lord (רב) of (the) land, son of Gr'strth, lord (רב) of (the) land, son of 'bd[štrth], . . . sr, son of Gr'strth, son of Šlm . . . rml." Lidz., I, 422.

c. "The Lord of kings, Ptlmis, son of the Lord of kings, Ptlmis." *Id.*, *ter.*

d. "The Lord of kings, 'abd'strth, son of Gr'strth, lord (רב) of the land . . . rml." *Id.*

9. "King Bd'strth, king of Sidonians (כב?). Bd'strth, king of Sidonians." Schröder, *Die phönizische Sprache*, p. 226; *C. I. S.*, I, 21.

10. a. "King Mlkytn [king of Kty and] 'dyl, son of B'lrn." Schröder, *id.*, 227. Compare 6a, above.

b. "King Pmyytn, king of Kty and 'dyl, son of Mlkytn, king of Kty and 'dyl." Schröder, *id.*, 228.

11. (1) "B'l, king of Gbl." Legend on coin. Schröder, 276.

(2) "'gn'l, king of Gbl." *Id.*, *C. I. S.*, I, 8.

(3) "'zb'l, king of Gbl." *Id.*, *C. I. S.*, I, 8.

(4) "'drmlk, king of Gbl." *Id.*, *C. I. S.*, I, 8.

(5) "'lp'l." *C. I. S.*, I, 8.

12. (1) "'gb'l." Schröder, 276.

(2) "B'lmlk." *Id.*

(3) "King Mlkytn." *Id.*

(4) "King Pmytn." *Id.*

13. "King Bd'strt, king of the Sidonians, son of the son of king Šmn'zr, king of the Sidonians." *Ephemeris*, II, 54.

14. "[King Bod'aštart, king of the Sidonians], son of Šdḳytn, king of kings (מלך מלכ[ים]), son of the son of king Šmn'zr, king of the Sidonians." *Pal. Exp. Fund, Quart. Statement for 1903*, p. 334, article by Prof. H. Porter, Ph.D., Beirut.

Titles in the Nabatean Inscriptions.

1. Name alone, e.g., "Maliku," *C. I. S.*, I, 222; *id.*, Euting's *Nabatean Inscriptions from Arabia*, No. 25, l. 5; "Aretat," *id.*, No. 1.

2. "King" alone(?). *C. I. S.*, I, 152.

3. "Aretat, the king." Euting, *N. I. A.*, Nos. 8, 9; *C. I. S.*, I, 199, 205, 349; "Rabel, the king," *id.*, 161; "Maliku, the king," No. 21.
4. "Maliku, king of the Nabateans." *C. I. S.*, I, 158, 195; Euting, *N. I. A.*, No. 22. "Aretat, king of the Nabateans," *C. I. S.*, I, 158, 195, 332; Euting, *N. I. A.*, Nos. 1, 2, 3. "Rabel, king of the Nabateans," *C. I. S.*, I, 224, 225; Euting, *N. I. A.*, Nos. 27, 28.
5. "Rabel, the king." *C. I. S.*, I, 161.
6. "Maliku, the king, the king of the Nabateans." Euting, *N. I. A.*, Nos. 23, 24, 26; *C. I. S.*, I, 219, 220, 221, 223, 174, 218. "Aretat, the king, the king of the Nabateans," *C. I. S.*, I, 442.
7. "Aretat, king of the Nabateans, lover of his people." Euting, *N. I. A.*, Nos. 3, 4, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10 *bis*, 12, 13(?), 14, 15, 16, 17, 20; *C. I. S.*, I, 196, 197, 198, 199, 201, 202, 204, 205, 206, 207, 208, 209, 211, 212, 213, 214, 215, 216; *Z. A.*, V, 290.
8. "Our lord." Euting, *N. I. A.*, Nos. 12 *bis*, 14.
9. "Our lord, Aretat the king." Euting, *N. I. A.*, No. 4.
10. "Our lord, Rab'el, king of the Nabateans." Euting, *N. I. A.*, No. 27. "Our lord, Aretat, king of the Nabateans," *id.*, No. 5.
11. "Maliku, the king, the king of the Nabateans, son of Aretat, the king of the Nabateans, lover of his people." *C. I. S.*, I, 182, 219, 354.
12. "Rabel, king of the Nabateans, [the son of Obodat], king of the Nabateans." *C. I. S.*, I, 349.
13. "The divine Obodat." *C. I. S.*, I, 354.

Titles of the Parthian Kings.

1. "Arsaka, king of kings." *Rm.*, IV, 106, l. 10; *Sp.*, II, 567, l. 11; n. 242, 81-6-25; *Arsaciden-Inschriften*, by J. N. Strassmaier, in *Z. A.*, III, 129-158; n. 3, 78-7-30; n. 8, 78-7-30, n. 123, 81-6-25; n. 134, 81-6-251; *Rm.*, IV, 118 A. So, also, in *K. B.*, IV, 319, and in the *Journal Asiatique*, 1889, pp. 7-11, and in the *Babylonian and Oriental Record*, IV, 141. So, also, in Reissner, *Sum. Bab. Hymnen*, p. 6, l. 20, 12(?), 24 "Arsaka"[?], 34 "Arsaka"[?], 82.
2. "The king" alone. In tablet from reign of Aspasina, *B. and O. Record*, IV, 131 *seq.*
3. "Arsaka" alone. Reissner, *Sum. Bab. Hymnen*, 65(?), pp. 24, 34.
4. "Aršaka, the king." Reissner, *Sum. Bab. Hymnen*, pp. 39, 40(?), 54, 79, 89(?) 93(?), 104; *Cun. Texts of Brit. Museum*, Bu.

88-5-12, 514. So, also, in *Z. A.*, VI, 229. *R^m*. 678b, I, c. 1, d. 1, and *Sp.*, I, 131.

5. "Pikharis, king of Persia." So in the Zürich tablet published by J. Oppert in the *Mélanges d'Archéologie*, etc. The whole date reads, "Babylon, in the month Kislev, the third day, in the fifth year of Pikharis, king of Persia."

6. In a Greek inscription we find the title τοῦ βασιλέως βασιλέων μεγάλου Ἀρσάκου. See *Orientis Græci Inscriptiones*, Diffenberger, Vol. I, 641. In the same, page 642, occurs: Ἰωτάργης σατραπῆς τῶν σατραπ[ων] and Ἰωπεργῆς βασιλεὺς βασιλέων Ἀρσάνων (from coin; see Percy Gardner's *Parthian Coinage*, p. 49, No. 25).

In the *Catalogue of the Coins of Parthia*, by Warwick Wroth, Table B, p. 275.

1. The name simply, *e.g.*, "Arsaces." So of Arsaces I.

2. Title and name, *e.g.*, "King Arsaces." So of Arsaces I, Phraates II, Mithradates I, Artabaneos I, and Vonones I.

3. "King of kings," alone. Used of Phraatares only.

4. "King of kings, Onones." Of Vonones I.

5. "The great king, Arsaces." Used of Phraates I, Mithradates I(?).

6. "King of kings Arsaces Urodos."

7. "King of kings Arsaces Dikaïos."

8. "King God Arsaces." Of Phriapatius(?).

9. "King Arsaces Dikaïos Epiphanes." Of Artabanus III.

10. "Arsaces Autokratoros." Of Mithradates I(?).

11. "The great king Arsaces Theopator." Of Phraates I(?), Phraates II, Artabanus I.

12. "The great king Arsaces Theopator Euergetes." Of Artabanus II.

13. "The great king Arsaces Theopator Nikator." Of Phraates III(?).

14. "The great king Arsaces Philellenos." Period of Mithradates I(?).

15. "The great king Arsaces Philadelphos." Of Artabanus I.

16. "The great king Arsaces Philadelphos Philellenos." Of Artabanus I.

17. "The great king Arsaces Nikephoros." Of Himerus(?).

18. "The great king Arsaces Epiphanes." Of Mithradates II.

19. "The great king Arsaces Theopator Euergetes Epiphanes Philellenos." Of Artabanus II and of Phraates III.

20. "The great king Arsaces Autokrator Philopator Epiphanes Philellenos." Of Sinatruces.

21. "The great king Arsaces Euergetes Epiphanes Philellenos." Of Phraates III.
22. "King Arsaces Epiphanes Philellenos." Of Himerus(?).
23. "King of kings Arsaces Dikaios Euergetes and Philellenos." Of Mithradates II.
24. "The great king of kings Arsaces Epiphanes." Of Mithradates II.
25. "The great king of kings Arsaces and Ktistos." Of Orodes I.
26. "The great king Arsaces Dikaios Epiphanes Theos Eupator Philellenos." Mithradates III.
27. "The great king of kings Arsaces Dikaios Epiphanes Theos Eupator Philellenos." Mithradates III.
28. "King of kings Arsaces Euergetes Dikaios Epiphanes Philellenos." Of Orodes I, Orodes II, Pacorus, Artabanus III, Phraatares, Phraates IV and Vonones I.
29. "King of kings Arsaces Philopator Dikaios Epiphanes Philellenos." Of Orodes I.
30. "King of kings Euergetes Arsaces." Of Artabanus III.
31. "King of kings Arsaces Euergetes Autokrator Philoromaios Epiphanes Philellenos." Of Tiridates III(?).
32. "King of kings Arsaces the Great, Dikaios Epiphanes Theos Eupator Philellenos." Of Mithradates III. See *Encyclopedia Britannica*, XVII, 678.
33. "King of kings Arsaces Dioeuergetes Phraates Epiphanes Epikaloumenos Philellenos Go[s]." Of Mithradates III. See Wroth, as above.
34. "King Onones Neikesas Artabanon." Of Vonones I.
35. "Thea Ourania Mouse the Queen." Of Musa.
36. "Basileuontos Basileon Arsakou Eupatoros Dikaiou Epiphanou kai Philellenou." Of Mithradates III.

*Inscriptions on Coins.**

1. The name alone, e.g., "Alexander" [the first of Macedon, B.C. 498-454]. See Head's *Guide to the Principal Gold and Silver Coins of the Ancients*, p. 23, No. 11. "Tykkeios" [king of Pæonia, B.C. 359-340], *id.*, p. 42, No. 6; "Pausanias" [king of Macedon, 390-389 B.C.], *id.*, p. 43, No. 14; "Amyntas" [king of Macedon, 389-369 B.C.], *id.*, p. 43, No. 15; "Perdiccas" [king of Macedon, 365-359 B.C.], *id.*, p. 43, No. 16; "Philip" [king of Macedon, 359-336 B.C.], *id.*, p. 43, No. 17, and p. 44, No. 18; "Alexander" [the Great], *id.*, p. 56, Nos. 2, 3, 5, 6, 7, p. 62, Nos. 3-7, 10, 11, p. 72,

* The examples are taken merely from the Greek coins with names of kings.

Nos. 1-4, p. 75, No. 2, p. 89, Nos. 1-4, p. 95, Nos. 1, 2; "Seleukos" [the first], *id.*, p. 57, No. 11; "Alexander" [the fourth], *id.*, p. 58, Nos. 20, 21, p. 65, Nos. 13, 14; "Seuthas" [king of the Thracian Odrysæ], *id.*, p. 25, No. 5.

2. "King" alone. [On coin from period B.C. 400-336. Rev. *ΒΑΣΙΛΑ*. Obv., head of Persian king or satrap.] *Id.*, p. 38, No. 27.

3. Title plus name or the reverse, *e.g.*, "king Evagoras" of Cyprus, B.C. 410-375, *id.*, p. 40, No. 41; "Alexander (the) king" (the Great), *id.*, p. 56, No. 4, p. 57, No. 8; "Philip (the) king" [Aridæus], *id.*, p. 57, No. 10, p. 62, Nos. 8, 9; "Seleucus (the) king," *id.*, p. 57, No. 12; "king Seleucus," *id.*, p. 57, Nos. 13, 14, p. 73, Nos. 15, 17; "king Lysimachus," *id.*, p. 58, Nos. 18, 19, p. 63, Nos. 18-20, p. 75, No. 1, p. 95, Nos. 3, 4, "Ptolemy (the) king," *id.*, p. 58, No. 22, p. 74, Nos. 30, 34, p. 94, No. 35; "king Antigonos," *id.*, p. 62, No. 12; "king Demetrius," *id.*, p. 63, Nos. 15-17; "Agathocles (the) king" [of Syracuse], *id.*, p. 68, No. 30; "king Mithradates," *id.*, p. 72, No. 5; "king Prousius," *id.*, p. 72, No. 7; "king Antiochus," *id.*, p. 73, Nos. 12-14, 16, 18, 19; "king Antigonos" [Gonatas], *id.*, p. 75, No. 5; "king Antigonos" [Doson], *id.*, p. 75, No. 6; "king Philip" [the fifth], *id.*, p. 76, Nos. 7, 8; "Pyrrhus (the) king," *id.*, p. 80, Nos. 24-29; "king Hiero," *id.*, p. 85, No. 32; "king Hieronymus," *id.*, p. 85, No. 35; "king Pharnaces," *id.*, p. 89, No. 5; "king Eumenes," *id.*, p. 89, No. 7; "king Alexander" (Balas), *id.*, p. 92, No. 24; "king Antiochus" [the sixth], *id.*, p. 92, No. 25; "king Demetrius" (Nikator), *id.*, p. 92, No. 27; "king Perseus," *id.*, p. 96, No. 9; "king Amyntas" (king of Galatia), *id.*, p. 108, No. 7; "king Tigranus," *id.*, p. 108, No. 13.

4. "Alexander, son of Neoptolemus" [king of Epirus], *id.*, p. 44, No. 23, p. 66, No. 11.

5. "Adelphon," obv.; "Theon," rev. [of coin of Philadelphus and Arsinoë]. *Id.*, p. 74, No. 28.

6. "King Orophernos Nikephoros," *id.*, p. 92, No. 23; "queen Cleopatra Euergetis," *id.*, p. 92, No. 28; "king Tryphon Autokrator," *id.*, p. 92, No. 26; "king Antiochus Epiphanes," *id.*, p. 108, Nos. 8, 11; "king Mithradates Eupator," *id.*, p. 107, Nos. 1, 2; "king Epiphanes Nikomedes," *id.*, p. 107, No. 3; "king Antiochus Philopator," *id.*, p. 108, No. 9; "king Soter Ermaios," *id.*, p. 108, No. 20.

7. "King Philip Epiphanes Philadelphus," *id.*, p. 108, No. 12; "queen Cleopatra Thea Neotera," *id.*, p. 108, No. 14; "king Seleukos Epiphanes Nikator," *id.*, p. 108, No. 10.

8. "(The) great king Eukratidos" [king of Bactria]. *Id.*, p. 94, No. 32.

9. "(The) great king Arsaces Philellenos" (Arsaces VI, Mithradates I). *Id.*, p. 94, No. 34.

10. "Getas, king of the Edoni" [before 480 B.C.]. *Id.*, p. 9, No. 15.

11. "King Eliokles Dikaïos" [king of Bactria]. *Id.*, p. 94, No. 33.

12. "The great king Soter and Philopator Apollodotos" [king of Bactria]. *Id.*, p. 108, No. 20.

Titles in the Hebrew Scriptures.

1. The name alone, *e.g.*:

"David." 2 Sam. i. 1 *bis*, 2, 3, 4, 5, 11, 13, 15, 16, 17, and scores of times elsewhere in the Old Testament.

"Solomon." 1 Kings iii. 1, 3, 4, 5, 6, 10, 15, and often elsewhere.

"Rehoboam." 1 Kings xii. 1, 3, 12, 17, 21, and elsewhere.

"Jeroboam" (son of Nebat). 1 Kings xiv. 1, 2 *bis*, 4, 5, 6, 7, and elsewhere.

Thus, also, in general of all the native kings; but occasionally, also, of foreign kings, *e.g.*:

"Hazeal." 2 Kings x. 32, xiii. 25.

"Pul." 2 Kings xv. 19.

"Rezin." 2 Kings xvi. 9.

"Sennacherib." 2 Kings xix. 16.

"Esarhaddon." 2 Kings xix. 37.

"Nebuchadrezzar." Jer. xxxii. 1, lii. 28, 30.

2. The title alone, *e. g.*:

Gen. xiv. 17, xxxix. 20.

Num. xx. 17, xxi. 22.

Judges iii. 19, viii. 18, ix. 6, 15.

1 Sam. viii. 9, 11, x. 24, xii. 2, 13, 14, xv. 1, 11, 17, 23, xvii. 25, 55, 56, xviii. 18, 22 *bis*, 23, 25 *bis*, 26, 27 *bis*, xix. 4, xx. 5, 24, 25, 29, xxi. 3, 9, xxii. 11, 14 *bis*, 15, 16, 17 *bis*, 18, xxiii. 20 *bis*, xxv. 36, xxvi. 14, 16, 22, xxviii. 13.

2 Sam. ii. 4, 7, iii. 17, 23, 24, 32, 33, 36, 37, 38, iv. 8, v. 3 *bis*, 6, 12, 17, vii. 1, 2, 3, ix. 2, 3 *bis*, 4, 9, 11 *bis*, 13, x. 5, xi. 2, 8 *bis*, 9, 19, 20, 24, xii. 7, xiii. 4, 6 *bis*, 13, 18, 23, 24 *bis*, 25, 26, 27, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 35 *bis*, 36 *bis*, xiv. 1, 3, 4 *bis*, 5, 8, 9 *bis*, 10, 11, 13 *bis*, 15 *bis*, 16, 18, 19, 21, 22 *bis*, 24 *bis*, 26, 28, 29, 32 *bis*, 33 four times, xv. 2, 3, 6, 7, 9, 15 *bis*, 16 *bis*, 17, 18, 19 *bis*, 21, 23, 25, 27, 34, 35, xvi. 2 *bis*, 3 *bis*, 4, 9, 10, 14, 16 *bis*, xvii. 2, xviii. 2, 4, 5 *bis*, 12 *bis*, 13, 18, 19, 20, 21, 25 *bis*, 26, 27 *bis*, 28 *bis*, 29, 30, 32, xix. 1, 2, 3,

5 *bis*, 6, 9 *bis*, 10, 11, 12 *bis*, 13, 15, 16 *ter*, 18, 19 *bis*, 20 *bis*, 24 *bis*, 25 *bis*, 26 *bis*, 27, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35 *bis*, 37 *bis*, 39, 40 *bis*, 41 *bis*, 42 *ter*, 43 *bis*, 44, xx. 3, 4, 21, 22, xxi. 2, 5, 6, 7, 8, 14, xxiv. 2, 3, 4 *bis*, 9, 20 *bis*, 23 *bis*, 24.

1 Kings i. 2, 3, 4 *bis*, 9, 14, 15 *ter*, 16 *bis*, 19, 22, 23 *ter*, 28 *bis*, 29, 31, 32, 33, 34 *bis*, 36, 44 *bis*, 45, 47 *bis*, 48, ii. 18 (of Solomon), 19 *bis*, 20, 26, 30 *bis*, 31, 35, 36, 38, 42, 44, 46, iii. 4, 16, 22, 23, 24 *bis*, 25, 26, 27, 28, iv. 5, 7, v. 15, 31, vii. 46, viii. 14, 62, 63, 64, 66, ix. 1, 10, 14, x. 3, 6, 9, 10, 12 *bis*, 17, 18, 22, 26, 27, 28, xi. 14, 26, 27, xii. 12 (of Rehoboam), 13, 15, 16 *bis*, 28, xiii. 4, 6 *bis*, 7, 8, 11, xiv. 2, 26, 27, 28, xv. 18 (of Asa), xvi. 16 (of Elah), 18, 20, 29 (of Ahab), xix. 15, 16, xx. 38, xxii. 6, 8, 12, 13, 15 *ter*, 16, 26, 27, 35, 37 *bis*.

2 Kings i. 6 (of Ahaziah), 9, 11, 15, iv. 13, v. 8, vi. 28, 30, vii. 2, 9, 11, 12, 14, 15, 17 *bis*, 18, viii. 3, 4, 5 *bis*, 6 *bis*, 8, ix. 3, 6, 9, 12, 18, 19, x. 6, 7, 8, 13, xi. 2 *bis*, 4, 5, 7, 8 *bis*, 11, 12 *bis*, 14 *bis*, 16, 17 *bis*, 19 *bis*, 20, xii. 11, 19, xiii. 16, xiv. 14, 22, xv. 5, 25, xvi. 8, 12 *ter*, 15, 18, xviii. 29 (of Sennacherib), 36, xxi. 23, xxii. 3, 9 *bis*, 10 *bis*, 11, 12 *bis*, 20, xxiii. 1, 2, 3, 4, 12, 13, 21, xxiv. 13, 15 *bis*, xxv. 4, 5, 6, 9, 19, 30.

1 Chron. iv. 23, ix. 18, xi. 3 *bis*, xiv. 2, 8, xviii. 17, xix. 5, xxi. 4, 6, xxiv. 6, xxv. 2, 5, 6, xxvi. 30, 32, xxvii. 1, 25, 32, 33 *bis*, 34, xxviii. 1 *bis*, 4, xxix. 6, 20, 23.

2 Chron. i. 14, 15, 16, iv. 17, v. 3, vi. 3, vii. 4, 5, 11, viii. 15, ix. 5, 8 *bis*, 9, 11 *bis*, 12, 16, 17, 21, 25, 27, x. 12, 13, 15, 16 *bis*, xii. 6, 9, 11, xvi. 2, xvii. 19, xviii. 5, 7, 11, 12, 14 *bis*, 15, 25, 26, xix. 11, xxi. 17, xxii. 11 *ter*, xxiii. 3 *bis*, 5, 7 *bis*, 10, 11 *bis*, 12, 13 *bis*, 15, 16, 20 *bis*, xxiv. 6, 8, 11 *bis*, 12, 14, 17 *bis*, 21, xxv. 3, 16, 24, xxvi. 2, 11, 13, 21, xxviii. 7 *bis*, 21, xxix. 15, 23, 24, 25, 29, xxx. 2, 4, 6 *bis*, 12, xxxi. 3, xxiv. 16 *bis*, 18 *bis*, 19, 20 *bis*, 22, 28, 29, 30, 31, xxxv. 7, 10, 15, 23, xxxvi. 18.

Ezra vii. 6 (of Artaxerxes), 8, 27, 28 *bis*, viii. 22 *bis*, 25, 36 *bis*.

Neh. i. 11, ii. 1, 2, 3 *bis*, 4, 5 *bis*, 6 *bis*, 7 *bis*, 8 *bis*, 9 *bis*, 14, 18, 19, iii. 15, 25, v. 4, vi. 6, 7 *bis*, xi. 23, 24, xiii. 6 *bis*.

Esther i. 5 *bis*, 7, 8, 10, 11, 12, 13 *bis*, 14, 16 *bis*, 18, 19 *bis*, 20, 21 *bis*, 22, ii. 2 *bis*, 3 *bis*, 4 *bis*, 8 *bis*, 9, 13 *bis*, 14 *ter*, 15 *bis*, 17, 18 *bis*, 19, 21 *bis*, 22, 23, iii. 2 *ter*, 3 *ter*, 8 *bis*, 9 *bis*, 10, 11, 12 *ter*, 13, 15 *bis*, iv. 2 *bis*, 3, 5, 6, 7, 8, 11 five times, 13, 16, v. 1 *ter*, 2 *bis*, 3, 4, 5, 6, 8 four times, 9, 11 *bis*, 12 *bis*, 13, 14 *bis*, vi. 1 *bis*, 2, 3, 4 *ter*, 5 *bis*, 6 *ter*, 7 *bis*, 8 *bis*, 9 *ter*, 10 *bis*, 11, 12, 14, vii. 1, 2, 3 *bis*, 4, 6, 7 *bis*, 8 *ter*, 9 *ter*, 10, viii. 1, 2, 3, 4 *bis*, 5 *ter*, 8 four times, 10, 11, 14, 15, 17, ix. 1, 3, 4, 11, 12 *bis*, 13, 14, 16, 25, x. 2.

Psalms xx. 10, xxi. 8, xxxiii. 16, xlv. 2, 6, 12, 15, lxiii. 12, lxxii. 1.

Ecc. ii. 12, iv. 13.

Song of Songs i. 4, 12, iii. 9.

Isaiah xxxvi. 21 (of Sennacherib), xxx. 33, lvii. 9.

Jer. iv. 9, xiii. 18, xxvi. 10, 21, xxxvi. 12, 16, 20 *bis*, 21 *ter*, 22, 24, 25, 26 *bis*, 27, xxxvii. 17, xxxviii. 4, 5, 6, 7 *bis*, 8 *bis*, 10, 11, 14, 25 *bis*, 26, 27, xxxix. 4, 8, xli. 1, 10, xlii. 6, lii. 7, 8, 9, 13, 25.

Ezek. vii. 27, xvii. 16, xxxvii. 22 *bis*.

Dan. i. 3, 4, 5 *ter*, 10, 13, 15, 18, 19 *bis*, 20, ii. 2 *ter*, 3, 4, 8, viii. 21, 27, xi. 36.

Hos. v. 1, x. 3, 6.

Amos vii. 1.

Jonah iii. 7.

Micah iv. 9.

Zephaniah i. 8.

Zechariah xiv. 9, 16, 17 (always of Jehovah).

King with the Suffixes:

Deut. xxviii. 16.

1 Sam. viii. 20, xviii. 12, xxv. 2, 10, 15, 23.

2 Sam. xix. 44, xxii. 51, xii. 30, xx. 2.

1 Chron. xx. 2, xxix. 20.

Mi. ii. 13.

Hos. vii. 5, xiii. 10, xi. 5, x. 7, iii. 5.

Amos v. 26 (of Succoth), i. 15.

Isa. viii. 21, xxxiii. 22, xliii. 15.

The title "king" used of Jehovah:

1 Sam. xii. 12.

Jer. xlix. 1, xlix. 3, viii. 19.

Lam. ii. 9.

Ezek. xvii. 12.

Zech. xi. 6, ix. 9.

Josh. viii. 2 *bis*, x. 1 *bis*, 39 *bis*, 30 *bis*, vi. 2, x. 28, 37, 39, xi. 10.

Ps. ii. 6, xviii. 51, xlvii. 7, lxxxix. 19, v. 3, lxxxiv. 4, xlv. 3, lxviii. 25, lxxiv. 12.

Ecc. x. 16, 17, iv. 13.

Dan. xi. 8.

Es. iii. 8.

3. The title followed by the name, *e.g.*, "The king Jehoram," 2 Kings iii. 6; "the king Ahaz," 2 Kings xvi. 10 *bis*; "the king Rehoboam," 2 Chron. xii. 2; "the king Jarib(?)," Hosea v. 13; "the king Hezekiah," 2 Kings xviii. 9, 13, 17, "the king Joisah," 2 Kings xxiii. 29.

4. The name followed by the title, *e.g.*, "Joram, the king," 2 Kings viii. 29; "Jehoram, the king," 2 Kings ix. 15.

5. The name followed by the title followed by the city over which the king ruled, *e.g.*, "Arioch, king of Ellasar," Gen. xiv. 1, 9; "Bira, king of Sodom," Gen. xiv. 2; "Bersha, king of Gomorrah," Gen. xiv. 2; "Shinab, king of Admah," Gen. xiv. 2, 8; "Shema-bar, king of Seboyim," Gen. xiv. 2; "Abimelech, king of Gerar," Gen. xx. 2; "Jobab, king of Madon," Josh. xi. 1; "Jabin, king of Hazor," Josh. xi. 1, Judg. iv. 17; "Horam, king of Gezer," Josh. x. 33; "Adonizedek, king of Jerusalem," Josh. x. 1; "Achesh, king of Gath," 1 Sam. xv. 8, 20, 32; "Og, king of Heshbon," Deut. iii. 1, 3, 4, 47, xxix. 6, Josh. ix. 10, xii. 4, xiii. 30; "Sihon, king of Heshbon," Deut. ii. 24, 26, 30, iii. 6, xxix. 6, Josh. ix. 10, xii. 5, xiii. 27; "Hiram, king of Tyre," 2 Sam. v. 11, 1 Kings v. 15, ix. 11, 1 Chron. xiv. 1, 2 Chron. ii. 2, 10; "Hadadezer, king of Zobah," 2 Sam. viii. 5, 1 Kings xi. 23, 1 Chron. xviii. 3, 5, 9; "Toi, king of Hamath," 2 Sam. viii. 9, 1 Chron. xviii. 9; "Nebuchadnezzar (or rezzar), king of Babylon," 2 Kings xxiv. 1, 10, 11, xxv. 1, 22, Jer. xxi. 2, 7, xxii. 25, xxiv. 1, xxv. 19, xxix. 21, xxxii. 28, xxxv. 11, xxxvii. 1, xxxix. 1, 11, xlvi. 2, 13, 26, xlix. 28, 30, l. 17, li. 34, lii. 4, 12, xxvii. 8, 20, xlv. 30, xxviii. 3, 11, 14, xxix. 3, xxxix. 5, Neh. vii. 6, Est. ii. 6, Dan. i. 1, Ezek. ii. 1, xxvi. 7, xxix. 18, 19, xxx. 10, 2 Chron. xxxvi. 6; "Evil-Merodach, king of Babylon," 2 Kings xxv. 27, Jer. lii. 31; "Artaxerxes, king of Babylon," Neh. xiii. 6; "Cyrus, king of Babylon," Ezra v. 13; "Ahab, king of Samaria(?)," 1 Kings xxi. 1; "Lemuel, king of Massa," Prov. xxxi. 1(?).

6. Title followed by the city ruled, *e.g.*, "the king of Admah," Gen. xiv. 8; "the king of Sodom," Gen. xiv. 8, 17, 21, 22; "the king of Salem," Gen. xiv. 18; "the king of Jericho," Josh. ii. 3, xii. 9; "the king of Ai," Josh. viii. 1, 14, 23, 29, xii. 9; "the king of Jerusalem," Josh. x. 3, 5, 23, xii. 10; "the king of Hebron," Josh. x. 3, 5, 23, xii. 10; "the king of Heshbon," Judg. xi. 19, Neh. ix. 22; "the king of Bela," Gen. xiv. 2, 8; "the king of Jarmuth," Josh. x. 3, 5, 23, xii. 10; "the king of Lachish," Josh. x. 3, 5, 23, xii. 11; "the king of Eglon," Josh. x. 3, 5, 23, xii. 11; "the king of Sharnon," Josh. xi. 1; "the king of Achsaph," Josh. xi. 1; "the king of Gezer," Josh. xii. 12; "the king of Debir," Josh. xii. 13; "the king of Geder," Josh. xii. 13, and other kings in like manner in same chapter; "the king of Samaria," 2 Kings i. 3; "the king of Hamath," 2 Kings xix. 13, Is. xxxvii. 13; "the king of Arpad," 2 Kings, xix. 13, Isa. xxxvii. 13; "the king of Babylon," 2 Kings xx. 18, xxiv. 7, 12 *bis*, 17, 20, xxv. 6, 8, 20, 21, 23, 24, Isa. xiv. 4, xxxix. 7, Jer. xx. 4, xxi. 4, 10, xxv. 11, 12, xxvii. 8, 9, 11, 12, 13, 14, 17, xxviii. 2, 4, xxix. 22, xxxii. 2, 3, 4, 36, xxxiv. 2, 3, 7, 21, xxxvi. 29,

xxxvii. 17, 19, xxxviii. 3, 17, 18, 22, 23, xxxix. 3 *bis*, 6 *bis*, 13, xl. 5, 7, 9, 11, xlii. 11, l. 18, 43, lii. 9, 10, 11, 12, 15, 26, 27, 34; Ezek. xvii. 12, xix. 9, xxi. 24, 26, xxx. 24, 25 *bis*, xxxii. 11; "the king of Tyre," Jer. xxxvii. 3, Ezek. xxviii. 12; "the king of Sidon," Jer. xxxvii. 3; "the king of Sheshhek(?)," Jer. xxv. 26; "the king of Nineveh," Jonah iii. 6.

7. The name followed by the title, followed by the country ruled, *e.g.*:

"Amraphel, king of Shinar." Gen. xiv. 1, 9.

"Chederlaomer, king of Elam." Gen. xiv. 2, 9.

"Tidal, king of Goyim (Gutium?)." Gen. xiv. 2, 9.

"Og, king of Bashan." Num. xxi. 33, xxxii. 33., Deut. i. 4, iii.

11, 1 Kings iv. 19.

"Jabin, king of Canaan." Judg. iv. 23, 24 *bis*.

"Balak, king of Moab." Num. xxiii. 7, Mic. vi. 5.

"Eglon, king of Moab." Judg. iii. 15, 17.

"Talmai, king of Geshur." 2 Sam. iii. 3.

"Shishak, king of Egypt." 1 Kings xi. 40, xiv. 25, 2 Chron. xii. 2, 9.

"So, king of Egypt." 2 Kings xvii. 4.

"Necho, king of Egypt." 2 Chron. xxxv. 20.

"Tirhakeh, king of Ethiopia (Cush)." 2 Kings xix. 9, Isa. xxxvii. 9.

"Mesha, king of Moab." 2 Kings iii. 4.

"Benhadad, king of Syria (Aram)." 1 Kings xx. 1, 20, 2 Kings vi. 24, viii. 7, 9, 2 Chron. xvi. 2.

"Og, king of Bashan." Neh. ix. 22, Ps. cxxxv. 11, cxxxvi. 20.

"Hazeal, king of Syria." 2 Kings viii. 29, xii. 18, 19, xiii. 3, 22, 24, 2 Chron. xxii. 5, 6.

"Rezin, king of Syria." 2 Kings xv. 37, xvi. 5, 6, Isa. vii. 1.

"Pul, king of Assyria." 2 Kings xv. 19, 1 Chron. v. 26.

"Tiglath-Pileser, king of Assyria." 2 Kings xv. 29, xvi. 7, 10, 1 Chron. v. 6, 26, 2 Chron. xxviii. 20.

"Shalmanassar, king of Assyria." 2 Kings xvii. 3, xviii. 9.

"Sargon, king of Assyria." Isa. xx. 1.

"Sanherib, king of Assyria." 2 Kings xxvii. 13, xix. 20, 36, 2 Chron. xxxii. 1, 9, 10, 22, Isa. xxxvi. 1, xxxvii. 21, 37.

"Esarhaddon, king of Assyria." Ezra iv. 2.

"Cyrus, king of Persia." 2 Chron. xxxvi. 22 *bis*, 23, Ezra i. 1 *bis*, 2, 8, iii. 7, iv. 5, Dan. x. 1.

"Darius, king of Persia." Ezra iv. 5.

"Artaxerxes, king of Persia." Ezra iv. 7, vii. 1.

8. Title followed by land ruled, *e.g.*:

"King of Edom." Num. xx. 14, Judg. xi. 17 *bis*, 2 Kings iii. 9, xii. 26, Jer. xxvii. 3, Amos ii. 1.

"King of Moab." Num. xxii. 20, 1 Sam. xii. 9, xxii. 3, 4, Judg. xi. 17, 2 Kings iii. 5, vii. 21, Jer. xxvii. 3.

"King of Egypt." Gen. xl. 1, Ex. i. 15, 17, 18, 23, iii. 18, 19, v. 4, 2 Kings xxiv. 7 *bis*, 2 Chron. xxxvi. 3, 4.

"King of Geshur." 2 Sam. xiii. 37.

"King of Maachah." 2 Sam. x. 6, 1 Chron. xix. 7.

"King of Canaan." Judg. iv. 2.

"King of Javan." Dan. viii. 21.

"King of Aram (Syria)." 1 Kings xx. 22, 23, xxii. 3, 31, 2 Kings v. 1, 5, 6, vi. 8, 11, xiii. 4, 7, xvi. 7, 2 Chron. xvi. 7 *bis*, xviii. 30, xxviii. 5.

"King of Assyria." 2 Kings xv. 20, xvi. 9 *bis*, 18, xvii. 4 *ter*, 5, 6, 24, 27, xviii. 11, 14 *bis*, 16, 17, 30, 31, 33, xix. 6, 8, 10, 32, xx. 6, xxiii. 29 (of Nebuchadnezzar?), Isa. vii. 17, viii. 4, 7, x. 12, xx. 4, 6, xxxvi. 2, 18, xxxvii. 6, 8, 33, xxxviii. 6, Jer. l. 17, 18, Nahum iii. 18, 2 Chron. xxxii. 7, 11, 21.

9. The name followed by the title, followed by the people ruled over, *e.g.*:

"Abinelech, king of the Philistines." Gen. xx. 1, 8.

"Sihon, king of the Amonites." Num. xxi. 26, xxxii. 33, Deut. i. 4, iii. 2, iv. 46, Josh. xii. 2, xiii. 21, Judg. xi. 19, 1 Kings iv. 19, Ps. cxxxv. 11, cxxxvi. 19.

"Baalim, king of the sons of Ammon." Jer. lx. 14.

"Nahash, king of the sons of Ammon." 1 Chron. xix. 1, 1 Sam. xii. 12.

"Agag, king of Amalek." 1 Sam. xv. 8, 20, 32.

"Saul, king of Israel." 1 Sam. xxix. 3.

"Solomon, king of Israel." 2 Kings xxiii. 13, xxiv. 13, Neh. xiii. 26.

"Jeroboam, king of Israel." 1 Kings xv. 9.

"Baasha, king of Israel." 1 Kings xv. 16, 17, 19, 32, 2 Chron. xvi. 1, 3, Jer. xli. 9.

"Ahab, king of Israel." 1 Kings xx. 2, 14, xxi. 18, xxii. 41, 2 Chron. xviii. 3, 19.

"Ahaziah, king of Israel." 2 Chron. xx. 35.

"Jehoram, king of Israel." 2 Kings ix. 21.

"Joash, king of Israel." 2 Kings xiii. 14, 2 Chron. xxv. 18, 21, 23.

"Jehoash, king of Israel." 2 Kings xiv. 9, 11, 13.

"Jeroboam, king of Israel." 2 Kings xv. 1, 1 Chron. v. 17, Amos vii. 10.

"Pekah, king of Israel." 2 Kings xv. 29.

"Hosea, king of Israel." 2 Kings xviii. 10.

"Ahaz, king of Israel" (?). 2 Chron. xxviii. 19.

"David, king of Israel." 2 Chron. viii. 11, xxix. 27, xxxv. 4, Ezra iii. 10.

"Jehovah, king of Israel." Isa. xlv. 6.

"Rehoboam, king of Judah." 1 Kings xii. 27 *bis*.

"Asa, king of Judah." 1 Kings xv. 17, 25, 28, 33, xvi. 8, 10, 15, 23, 29.

"Jehoshaphat, king of Judah." 1 Kings xxii. 2, 10, 29, 52, 2 Kings iii. 1, 7, 14, viii. 6, 2 Chron. xviii. 3, 9, 28, xix. 1, xx. 35, xxi. 2.

"Ahaziah, king of Judah." 2 Kings ix. 16, 21, 27, x. 13.

"Jehoash, king of Judah." 2 Kings xii. 19, xiii. 10 (Joash).

"Amaziah, king of Judah." 2 Chron. xxv. 17, 18, 21.

"Azariah, king of Judah." 2 Kings xv. 8, 17, 23, 27.

"Uzziah, king of Judah." 2 Kings xv. 13, Amos i. 1, Zech. xiv. 5.

"Jotham, king of Judah." 1 Chron. v. 17.

"Ahaz, king of Judah." 2 Kings xvii. 1.

"Hezekiah, king of Judah." 2 Kings xviii. 14 *bis*, 16, xix. 10, 2 Chron. xxx. 24, xxxii. 8, 9, 23, Prov. xxv. 1, Isa. xxxvii. 10, xxviii. 9, Jer. xxvi. 18, 19.

"Manasseh, king of Judah." 2 Kings xxi. 11.

"Josiah, king of Judah." Jer. xxvii. 1, xxxv. 1.

"Jehoiachim, king of Judah." 2 Kings xxiv. 12, xxv. 27 *bis*, Jer. xxxvi. 28, 29, 30, 32, lii. 31 *bis*, Dan. i. 1, 2, 1 Chron. iv. 41.

"Jeconiah, king of Judah." Esther ii. 6.

"Zedekiah, king of Judah." Jer. xxi. 7, xxiv. 8, xxvii. 3, 12, xxviii. 1, xxix. 3, xxxii. 1, 3, xxxiv. 2, 4, 6, 21, xxxix. 4, xlv. 30, xlix. 34, li. 59.

10. Title followed by name of people ruled, *e.g.*:

"King of the Amorites." Num. xxi. 34.

"King of the Chaldeans." 2 Chron. xxxvi. 17.

"King of Jacob (= Jehovah)." Isa. xli. 21.

"King of Israel." 1 Sam. xxvi. 20, 1 Kings xx. 4, 7, 11, 21, 22, 28, 31, 32, 40, 41, 43, xxii. 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 26, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 45, 2 Kings iii. 4, 5, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13 *bis*, v. 5, 6, 7, 8, vi. 9, 10, 11, 21, 26, vii. 6, xvi. 7, 2 Chron. xviii. 4, 5, 7, 8, 9, 17, 25, 28, 29 *bis*, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, xxviii. 5, Hos. x. 15, Zeph. iii. 15.

"King of Judah." 2 Kings iii. 9, xxii. 16, 18, 2 Chron. xxxiv. 24, 26, xxxv. 21, Jer. xxi. 11, xxii. 1, 2, 6, xxvii. 18, 21, xxxii. 2, xxxvii. 7, xxxviii. 22.

"King of Assyria." Ezra vi. 22.

11. The name followed by the name of the father, followed by the title and country, city or people ruled over, *e.g.*:

"Balak, the son of Sippor, king of Moab." Josh. xxiv. 9, Judg. xi. 25.

"Talmai, son of Amihud, king of Geshur." 2 Sam. xiii. 37.

"Achish, son of Maon, king of Gath." 1 Sam. xxvii. 2.

"Achish, son of Maachath, king of Gath." 1 Kings ii. 39.

"Solomon, son of David, king of Israel." Prov. i. 1, 2 Chron. xxx. 26.

"Rehoboam, son of Solomon, king of Judah." 1 Kings xii. 23, 2 Chron. xi. 3.

"Jezebel, daughter of Ithbaal, king of the Sidonians." 1 Kings xvi. 31.

"Jehoran, son of Jehoshaphat, king of Judah." 2 Kings i. 17, viii. 16.

"Joram, son of Ahab, king of Israel." 2 Kings viii. 16, 25, 2 Chron. xxii. 5 (Jehoram).

"Ahaziah, son of Jehoram, king of Judah." 2 Kings viii. 25, 2 Chron. xxii. 6 and xxii. 1 (but Joram instead of Jehoram).

"Athaliah, daughter of Omri, king of Israel." 2 Kings viii. 26.

"Joash, son of Ahaz, king of Judah." 2 Kings xiii. 1.

"Joash, son of Jehoahaz, king of Israel." 2 Chron. xxv. 25, 2 Kings xiv. 1, 17 (the latter reads Jehoahaz).

"Amaziah, son of Joash, king of Judah." 2 Chron. xxv. 25, 2 Kings xiv. 1, 17, 23.

"Jeroboam, son of Joash, king of Israel." 2 Kings xiv. 23, Hos. i. 1, Amos i. 1.

"Azariah, son of Amaziah, king of Judah." 2 Kings xv. 1.

"Pekah, son of Remaliah, king of Israel." 2 Kings xv. 32, xvi. 5.

"Jotham, son of Uzziah, king of Judah." Isa. vii. 1, 2 Kings xv. 32.

"Ahaz, son of Jotham, king of Judah." 2 Kings xvi. 1.

"Hosea, son of Elah, king of Israel." 2 Kings xviii. 1, 9.

"Manasseh, son of Hezekiah, king of Judah." Jer. xv. 4.

"Josiah, son of Amon, king of Judah." Zeph. i. 1, Jer. i. 2, xxv. 3.

"Jehoiachin, son of Josiah, king of Judah." Jer. i. 3, xxii. 18, xxv. 1, xxvi. 1, xxxvi. 1, 9, xlv. 1.

"Jeconiah, son of Jehoiachin, king of Judah." Jer. xxiv. 1, xxvii. 20, xxviii. 4.

"Zedekiah, son of Josiah, king of Judah." Jer. i. 3.

"Sallum, son of Josiah, king of Judah." Jer. xxii. 11.

"Coniah, son of Jehoiachin, king of Judah." Jer. xxii. 24.

"Merodach-Baladan, son of Baladan, king of Babel." Isa xxxix. 1, 2 Kings xx. 12 (except Berodach-Baladan for Merodach-Baladan).

12. The same as the last, except that the name of the grandfather also is given, *e.g.*:

"Benhadad, son of Tabrimmon, son of Hezion, king of Syria." 1 Kings xv. 18.

"Jehoash, son of Jehoahaz, son of Jehu, king of Israel." 2 Kings xiv. 8, 2 Chron. xxv. 17.

"Absalom, son of Maachah, daughter of Talmai, son of Geshur." 1 Chron. iii. 2.

"Ahaz, son of Jotham, son of Uzziah, king of Judah." Isa. vii. 1.

13. The name followed by title, followed by country, followed by names of father and grandfather, *e.g.*:

"Amaziah, king of Judah, son of Jehoash, son of Ahaz." 2 Kings xiv. 13.

14. "King of kings." Ezek. xxvi. 7 (of Nebuchadnezzar).

15. "King of princes." Hosea viii. 10.

16. "King of the North." Dan. xi. 7, 11, 13, 15, 40.

"King of the South." Dan. xi. 5, 6, 9, 11, 14, 25 *bis*, 40.

17. "Mighty king (מֶלֶךְ גִּבּוֹר)." Dan. xi. 3.

18. "Mighty king (מֶלֶךְ רַב)." Ps. xlviii. 3.

19. "Great king (מֶלֶךְ גָּדוֹל)." Mal. i. 14 (of Jehovah), Ecc. ix. 14, Ps. xcv. 3 (= Jehovah).

20. "King of all the earth." Ps. xlvii. 8 (= Jehovah).

21. "A great king over all the earth." Ps. xlvii. 3 (= Jehovah).

22. "King over Israel." Ecc. i. 12.

23. "The Canaanite king of Arad." Num. xxi. 1, xxxiii. 40.

24. "Kohaleth, son of David, king in Jerusalem." Ecc. i. 1.

25. The name of the king followed by the name of the father, *e.g.*:

"Joram, son of Ahab." 2 Kings viii. 28.

"Jehoram, son of Ahab." 2 Chron. xxii. 6.

26. The name of the king followed by the name of the father, followed by the name of the grandfather, *e.g.*:

"Jehu, the son of Jehoshaphat, the son of Nimshi." 2 Kings ix. 14.

27. The same as the last, plus the title and the country ruled, *e.g.*:

"Benhadad, the son of Tabrimmon, the son of Hezion, king of Syria." 1 Kings xv. 18.

28. Two titles followed by country ruled, *e.g.*:

"Pharaoh, king of Egypt." Isa. xxxvi. 6, 1 Kings iii. 1, ix. 16, xi. 18, 2 Kings xvii. 7, xviii. 21, Jer. xxv. 19, xlvi. 17, Ezek. xxix. 2, 3, xxx. 21, 22, xxxi. 2, xxxii. 2, Gen. xli. 46, Exod. vi. 11, 13, 27, 29, xiv. 8, Deut. vii. 8, xi. 3.

29. Title followed by name, followed by another title and the name of the country, *e.g.*:

"Pharaoh Necho, king of Egypt." 2 Kings xxiii. 29, Jer. xlvi. 2.

"Pharaoh Hophra, king of Egypt." Jer. xlv. 30.

30. Same as last, except that king occurs twice instead of once, *e.g.*:

"The king Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon." 2 Kings xxv. 8.

"The king Cyrus, king of Persia." Ezra iv. 3.

Other sporadic titles are:

31. "The great king, the king of Assyria." 2 Kings xviii. 19, 28, Isa. xxxvi. 4, 13.

32. "The king of nations." Jer. x. 7.

33. "David, king of the land." 1 Sam. xxi. 12.

34. "Lord (my, thy, etc.)." 1 Kings i. 17, 33, iii. 17, 26, xii. 27, xviii. 8, 10, 11, 13, 14, 2 Kings v. 4, 18, vi. 22, 23, ix. 11, 31, x. 2, 3 *bis*, 6, 9, xviii. 24, 27 *bis*, xix. 6, 1 Chron. xxi. 3 *bis*, 2 Chron. ii. 14, xiii. 6, Isa. xxii. 18, xxxvi. 9, 12, xxxvii. 6, 1 Sam. xvi. 16, xxii. 12, xxiv. 11, xxvi. 18, 2 Sam. i. 10, ii. 5, xi. 9, 11, 13, xii. 8 *bis*, xiii. 32, xix. 19, xx. 6.

35. "Lord, Saul." 1 Chron. xii. 19, 2 Sam. ii. 7.

"Lord, David." 2 Chron. ii. 13.

36. "David, my lord." 1 Kings i. 11.

"Ahab, my lord." 2 Kings ix. 7.

"Hanun, their lord." 2 Sam. x. 3.

37. "My lord, the king." 1 Sam. xxiv. 9, xxvi. 15, 17, 19, 2 Sam. iii. 21, iv. 8, 9, 10, xiii. 33, xiv. 9, 12, 17 *bis*, xv. 15, 21 *bis*, xxxii. 19, 20, 21, 27, 28 *bis*, 29, 31, 36, 38, xxiv. 3 *bis*, 21, 22, 1 Kings i. 2 *bis*, 13, 18, 20 *bis*, 27, 36, 37, ii. 38, xx. 4, 9, 2 Kings vi. 12, 26, viii. 5, xviii. 23, 1 Chron. xxi. 3, 23, Jer. xxxvii. 20, xxxviii. 9, Dan. i. 10.

38. "The king (thy) lord." 1 Sam. xxvi. 15, 2 Sam. xiv. 15.

39. "My lord, king David." 1 Kings i. 31, 37, 43, 47.

40. "Lord, the king of Assyria." Isa. xxxvi. 8, 2 Kings xviii. 23.

"Lord, the king of Egypt." Gen. xl. 1.

41. "The king of Assyria, his master (lord)." 2 Kings xix. 4, Isa. xxxvii. 4.

42. "Lord, the anointed of Jehovah." 1 Sam. xxiv. 7.

43. "Hadadezer, king of Zobah, his lord." 1 Kings xi. 23.

44. "Lord of the whole earth (of God only)." Ps. xcvi. 5, Mic.

iv. 13, Zech. iv. 14, vi. 5. Comp. Josh. iii. 11, "Lord of all the earth."

45. "Lord of Lords." Ps. cxxxvi. 3 (of God).

"Lord of lords, a great God." Deut. x. 17.

Having thus, at length, brought to conclusion the collection of titles and designations of kings in antiquity, we shall proceed in the October number of this REVIEW to summarize the results in their bearing upon the argument against the historical character of the Book of Ezra, which is based upon the use in Ezra of certain of these titles and upon the failure to use others.

Princeton.

R. D. WILSON.

VI.

THE DOCTRINE OF BAPTISM IN HOLY SCRIPTURE AND THE WESTMINSTER STANDARDS.

FIRST ARTICLE.

THE definition of baptism in the Westminster Shorter Catechism is both accurate and comprehensive, but owing to the fact that the precise use of terms has not been fully appreciated, its real meaning has been much obscured, at least in the popular mind. A large part of what has been written upon the subject is pertinent only to the case of adult baptism, and we have come to hold and teach that in the case of infants the ordinance has more of promise than potency. Principal Cunningham thus writes: "The general tenor of Scripture language upon the subject of baptism applies primarily and directly to the baptism of adults, and proceeds upon the assumption that the profession implied in the reception of baptism by adults—the profession, that is, that they had already been led to believe in Christ, and to receive Him as their Saviour and their Master—was sincere, or corresponded with the real state of their minds and hearts. . . . This is the proper, primary, full idea of baptism; and to this the general tenor of Scripture language upon the subject, and the general description of the objects and ends of baptism as given in our Confession of Faith, and in the other Confessions of the Reformed Churches, are manifestly adapted" (*Historical Theology*, Vol. II, pp. 144–5). "If we were in the habit of witnessing adult baptism, and if we formed our primary and full conceptions of the import and effects of the ordinance from the baptism of adults, the one sacrament would be as easily understood as the other, and we would have no difficulty in seeing how the general definition given of the sacraments in our Confession of Faith and Catechisms applied equally to both. But as this general definition of a sacrament and the corresponding general description given of the objects and effects of baptism do not apply, without some modification, to the form in which we usually see baptism administered, men commonly, instead of considering distinctly what are the necessary modifications of it and what are the grounds on which these modifications rest, leave the whole subject in a very obscure and confused condition in their minds" (*Hist. Theol.*, II, 150).

Dr. Bannerman gives expression to similar views: "The proper and true type of baptism, as a sacrament in the Church of Christ, is the baptism of adults, and not the baptism of infants. . . . The sacrament in its complete features and perfect character is to be witnessed in the case of those subjects of it whose moral and intellectual being has been fully developed and is entire, and not in the case of those subjects of it whose moral and intellectual being is no more than rudimental and in embryo. . . . The Bible mode of baptism is adult baptism, and not infant" (*Ch. of Christ*, II, 108-9). Dr. Bannerman, however, is not content to dismiss the case of infants as an unrevealed mystery. He enumerates the following as the effects of the ordinance in their case.

"1. It gives them an interest in the Church of Christ as its members." Why, then, do we speak of them as "Joining the Church" at their first Communion? Why the habitual use of the term "Christian" in our Presbyterian Sunday-school literature, when urging them to an acceptance of Christ as their Saviour? "Are you a Christian?" is the test question. "So-and-so is a Christian now" is the usual way of saying that the friend named has made a profession of his faith. Evidently the practical modern mind sees very little in a right of membership which carries with it nothing distinctive. All children, indeed, all adults, are invited to share in the means of grace, and none are more faithfully brought under the influence of these than the children of so-called Baptist parents.

"2. It gives them a right of property in the covenant of grace, which may in after life, by means of their personal faith, be supplemented by a right of possession." Baptism, then, conveys nothing but a promise. There is no present benefit to the child. Dr. Bannerman's remarks under this head are so beautiful that one only regrets that their loveliness, like that of the soap-bubble, is due to the extreme tenuity of their substance. There is absolutely no spiritual blessing recognized as coming to the child until, in the exercise of saving faith, "with the charter of his right in his hand," he makes good his right, not of property merely, but of personal possession in all the blessings which are written in it. Not one blessing will he receive which another who has never been baptized, and consequently has no "charter in his hand," does not equally share. The "charter" might as well be blank paper. Surely the covenant contains more than this. Is it not the covenant of Him who has said, "I will be a God to thee and to thy seed," the covenant of a Father given to satisfy the deepest yearnings of parental love?

“3. There seems to be reason for inferring that, in the case of infants regenerated in infancy, baptism is ordinarily connected with that regeneration.” “There are, first, those infants baptized with an outward baptism who never at any period come to know a saving change of state or nature. To such, baptism may be an ordinance giving them a place in the visible Church, and giving them also a right of property in the covenant of grace, never completed by a right of possession, and therefore given to them in vain, but it can be nothing more. There are, secondly, those infants baptized with water in infancy, but not regenerated in infancy by the Spirit of God, whose saving change of state and nature is experienced by them in after life. To such, baptism is an ordinance giving them a place in the visible Church, and giving them also a right of property in the covenant at the moment of its administration; and in after years, when born again by the Spirit through faith, baptism becomes to them, in addition, the seal, as it had previously been the sign, of the covenant—their right of property having been completed by the right of possession, and the sacrament, although long past, having become, in consequence, a present grace to their souls. But there are, thirdly, those infants baptized with water in infancy and also regenerated in infancy; and with regard to them I think there is reason to believe that this baptism with water stands connected ordinarily with the baptism of the Spirit.” In discussing this question Dr. Bannerman confesses to the entire absence of Scriptural data. His limited view affords no help in determining what to say when administering the ordinance. To tell parents, as our author does, that if their child should die in infancy we may cherish the hope that his regeneration, if he was regenerated, and his baptism were contemporaneous, but that if he lives the ordinance may, or may not, have any connection with his subsequent repentance or faith, is to give them a very low opinion of its practical value. The parent may reply, “Does God’s covenant mean nothing? This ‘if’ heaped on ‘if’ robs it of all real value to my child. Is my child admitted to the same gracious relationship as myself, or is he not? I believe that my sins have been forgiven—is the birth-sin of my child taken away? I have been spiritually united with Christ—is my child, too, a new bud engrafted on the same living Vine? The Holy Spirit has come to me with His quickening and sanctifying grace—has He come to my child as well? I am a child of God by faith—am I now warranted in believing that God has received this little one into His family also? Has God given me any guarantee whatever on which I can securely rest? I have trusted him for

my own salvation—may I trust Him for that of my child?" We believe that we may give a confident affirmative to all these questions. Both Scripture and our unrivaled Standards speak with no hesitating voice. Let us not be too timid to accept their plain and wonderfully gracious teaching.

We cannot accept the view that all New Testament references to baptism concern the administration of it to adults only. Granting that the majority of those who received the ordinance at the first were adults, a very brief time would elapse before infant baptism would become, as it is now, the usual practice of the Church and the baptism of adults exceptional. We assume, throughout this treatise, the pædo-baptist position. Our inquiry is not concerning the mode or subjects of baptism, but its meaning. We hold, therefore, that infants were baptized from the beginning in the households of believing converts. It is incredible that the language of Scripture should be inapplicable to the minority of cases at the first, a minority which even in the apostles' time must have become a majority, without any hint that a misunderstanding must be guarded against. There is not the slightest ground for believing that there were really two ordinances under one name, or one sacrament in two degrees of completeness. As far as we can gather from New Testament language, what baptism meant to the adult it meant to the infant. In the case of household baptism there is no suspicion that the adults were put in possession of a blessing, while the children had only a promise that they would receive it when they were able to fulfill the condition of faith as required of adults. In that case they received nothing, for the unbaptized have the same promise. If baptism means no more to a child than his moral and spiritual nature is capable of consciously appropriating, then it means nothing at all, and we are, as the Baptists charge, blindly following a Jewish custom with nothing but sentiment and superstition to rest upon. We are left with a covenant sign which seals nothing, and covenant promises which are not the exclusive possession of the baptized children of believing parents.

Dr. Cunningham's statement that the Reformers and Westminster divines had adult baptism chiefly in view is unwarranted. It is quite inconsistent with the statements of the documents they drew up. Calvin says, in his Catechism, Question 368, "As touching baptisme, for as much as there bee none in our time baptized but little children," etc., and Samuel Rutherford, himself one of the Commissioners to the Westminster Assembly, in his *Soume of the Christian Religion*, asks, "Quhat seeth your eye in baptisme q'lk is the signe?

Ans. Water sprinkled upon an infant." Adults are left out of consideration altogether. As regards the Confession of Faith and the Larger Catechism, the statement is as far from true as possible. Adult baptism was a rare exception both at the time of the first Reformation and at that of the so-called second in the middle of the seventeenth century. At both periods the most vigorous polemics were directed against the Anabaptists, and they were specially denounced for repeating the ordinance upon those who had been baptized in infancy—they violated the Catholic doctrine of the *unica baptisma*. It is surely a most arbitrary assumption, necessitated by a false theory, that the Reformers and Westminster divines framed their statements regarding the ordinance according to a mode of its administration which they denounced, and which was rarely ever practiced except amongst sectarians with whom they refused to hold fellowship. The form of the ordinance present to their minds would be that with which they and their children were familiar. In baptism, as in circumcision, the true meaning is to be found in the case of the infant. With adults there is the added condition of faith. But this is incidental to the special condition of the recipient as a morally responsible being; it is not essential to every administration of the sacrament.

It is frequently asserted that baptism is mainly a public profession of faith. Dr. Charles Hodge says it is "the divinely appointed way of publicly professing their faith in Christ, and their allegiance to Him as their God and Saviour." "Baptism does not make a man a Christian. It is the appointed means of avowing that he is a Christian" (*Syst. Theol.*, III, 582, 585). It is all this incidentally in the case of the adult. But what is merely a secondary result in the exceptional circumstances of the adult ought not to be emphasized as if it were the main object contemplated in the ordinance. In no case in the New Testament is baptism represented as "a public profession of faith." It is never administered for the edification of the onlookers. These are utterly ignored, and in some cases, as in that of the Philippian jailer, there may not have been any. As a profession of faith, baptism does not stand conspicuously alone. In many other ways a Christian declares his loyalty to Christ. The ordinance is not one in which the subject acts at all. He is wholly receptive. If there is a declaration of faith it is but an evidence of a right state of mind, a subjective fitness for the reception of the sacrament; it is no part of the sacrament itself. A certain status is thereby affirmed in virtue of which baptism is conferred, and the spiritual benefits to which such a status entitles the recipient are bestowed.

In the discussion which follows we have nothing to do with the well-worn questions of the mode and subjects of baptism. We shall assume that infant baptism, by sprinkling or affusion, is Scriptural. Our argument is not with those who hold so-called "Baptist" views. The task before us is constructive rather than controversial. The question we have set ourselves to answer is, "What does the New Testament teach in regard to the meaning and virtue of baptism, and how are its teachings formulated in the Westminster Standards?"

In discussing the evidence of the New Testament, we naturally turn first to the Gospels, for if our Lord Himself said anything about baptism we must attach the highest importance to it. His utterances must furnish us with the key to the right understanding of apostolic doctrine and practice. In but three passages do we find a distinct reference to Christian baptism.

"All authority hath been given unto me in heaven and on earth. Go ye, therefore, and make disciples of all the nations, baptizing them into the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost; teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I commanded you; and lo, I am with you alway, even unto the end of the world" (Matt. xxviii. 18-20).

This is the Church's warrant for the administration of the ordinance and presupposes a knowledge, on the part of the apostles, of its full significance. This, doubtless, was communicated to them during the forty days subsequent to the ascension, when he gave "commandment through the Holy Ghost unto the apostles whom he had chosen" and spake "the things concerning the kingdom of God" (Acts i. 2, 4). The words were uttered on the eve of the ascension, and, spoken on such an occasion, they must be pregnant with meaning. They will not set truth in a false perspective, or give prominence to subordinate details of ritual. They will "put first things first." What they emphasize we shall err in relegating to a secondary place. What do they teach us in regard to baptism? Let us take them clause by clause.

1. "All authority hath been given unto me . . . go ye, therefore," and baptize. Whether *οὕτως* is correctly in the text or not, "therefore" must be supplied, for it expresses the logical connection of the clauses. The grace conferred in baptism comes from the mediatorial efficiency of the glorified Redeemer. The virtue of baptism is derived from the authority bestowed upon Him. In this sacrament, as in the Lord's Supper, the nexus between the human

subject and the heavenly source is the glorified humanity of Jesus. Whatever blessing is bestowed in the ordinance, we may be sure that it takes its origin in the person of the Second Adam, the Fountain of all spiritual life to men.

2. "Make disciples . . . by baptizing." "The 'baptizing' is something in which the 'making disciples' is consummated, not something which must be done after they had become disciples. It does not read 'having made them disciples, baptize them'" (Meyer). "The imperative aorist *μαθητεύσατε*, 'make disciples,' is, as it were, decomposed by the two following present participles *βαπτίζοντες* and *διδάσκοντες*, 'baptizing' and 'teaching.' In the case of infants the process is exactly what is here represented—they are admitted into the Christian society by baptism, and then instructed in faith and duty. Adults have to be instructed before baptism, but they are a small minority in most Christian communities, where, generally, infant baptism is the rule, and would be regarded rather as exceptions" (A. Lukyn Williams in the *Pulpit Commentary*). Baptism marks the moment of transition from the family of the First Adam into that of the Second. Then the alien becomes a citizen and, with his children, is invested with all the rights and privileges of citizenship. "In our Lord's words, as in the Church, the process of ordinary discipleship is from baptism to instruction—i.e., admission in infancy into the covenant, and growing up into 'observing all things'" (Alford).

3. "Baptizing them into the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost." "Baptize into" means "baptize with reference to," and implies much more than invoking the name of God, or acting by the authority of God. It denotes the creation of a new and gracious bond of union. The "name" connotes all that the persons of the Trinity become, severally and collectively, to the subject of baptism. He is henceforth the object of the Father's complacent love, of the redeeming grace of the Son, and the quickening and sanctifying influence of the Holy Spirit. It is the soul's contract of espousal (Alford), for as the husband loves the wife, so "Christ also loved the Church and gave himself for it, that he might sanctify it, having cleansed it by the washing (or laver) of water with the word" (Eph. v. 25, 26). A most solemn covenant has been entered into, fraught with unspeakable blessings to those who rightly use and duly improve the grace conferred. How deep their guilt who, like Esau, despise their birthright, and by their sinful lives show that they tread under foot the Son of God, and count the blood of the covenant wherewith they were sanctified an

unholy thing, and insult the Spirit of grace by wilfully resisting his influence (Heb. x. 29). In baptism there is a spiritual union effected by which the recipient of the ordinance is brought into a special relationship to the triune God.

4. The absence of the connecting *καί*, "and," shows that the "teaching" is not strictly coördinate with "baptizing," but is, in a sense, subordinate to it (Meyer). It is a continuous process following upon baptism, and having as its object "a thorough indoctrination in the Christian truth, and the building up of the whole man unto the full manhood of Christ, the Author and Finisher of our faith" (Schaff). Baptism stands for spiritual illumination (Heb. x. 32), by which the moral attitude of the soul is "oriented," or turned toward the light of divine truth. It is the outward sign of inward grace conferred, by the right improvement of which all the possibilities of the spiritual life are realized. Having admitted the child into a relationship fraught with such momentous results, the Church is bound to inform him fully of his baptismal covenant and all that it involves, that he may, by his willing acceptance of its obligations and faithful effort to walk worthy of his high calling, adorn the doctrine of God his Saviour in all things (Titus ii. 10). Baptism furnishes a prerequisite to a profitable reception of the truth, and lays the Church under obligation to fully instruct those whom she has baptized.

5. We have an assurance of the personal presence of Christ in the administration of baptism—"And, lo, I am with you alway, even unto the end of the world." "Every word is emphatic. The ascension was at hand; this implied an absence of His visible presence, to be replaced by a spiritual presence, more perfect, potent, effectual, infinite. It is I myself, I, God and man, who am (not 'will be') henceforth ever present among you, with you as Companion, Friend, Guide, Saviour, God. I am with you in all your ministrations, prayers, public and private, baptisms, communions, exhortations, doctrine, discipline. And this, not now and then, not at certain times only, but 'all the days' of your pilgrimage, all the dark days of trial and persecution and affliction, all the days when you, my apostles, are gathered to your rest, and have committed your work to other hands; my presence shall never be withdrawn for a single moment. Often had God made an analogous promise to His servants under the old dispensation—to Moses (Ex. iii. 12), to Joshua (Deut. xxxi. 23), to Jeremiah (Jer. i. 8); but this spiritual presence of Christ is something unknown to previous history, a nearness unspeakable in the Church at large and in the

Christian's heart" (Williams). In a very real sense Christ Himself stands by our side, takes the little one in His arms and bestows His effectual blessing in the ordinance of baptism, and He does this in virtue of His authority as dispenser of the blessings purchased by His blood.

Clearly baptism is intended to occupy a most important position amongst the means of grace. In it is wrapped up "engrafting into Christ and participation in the benefits of the covenant of grace." No other event in the Christian's life is of greater moment than this. His personal consecration is a consequence of it, and should stand in vital connection with it. The Communion Table is not more sacred than the Font. "Of the two sacraments it is clearly not the Lord's Supper but baptism on which the greatest stress is laid as forming the divine constituent factor in the work of Redemption, and that above all in the epistles of Paul, in which the only instance of anything like a full treatment of the subject of the Lord's Supper is that of 1 Corinthians, and even then it is of a somewhat incidental character" (Meyer).

Turning next to the Gospel of Mark, we find another version of our Saviour's parting words, in which baptism receives still greater emphasis. "Go ye into all the world, and preach the Gospel to the whole creation. He that believeth and is baptized shall be saved; but he that disbelieveth shall be condemned" (Mark xvi. 15, 16). It is not necessary to discuss the genuineness of the section in which these words occur. That it is a true narrative of fact is not disputed. There can be no reasonable doubt that our Lord spoke these words. From them we learn:

1. That baptism, or rather the doctrine expressed by it, is an integral part of the "Gospel." To omit it is to mutilate the teaching of our Lord. To treat it with indifference, or to relegate it to a subordinate position as "a mere external rite," is to fail in declaring "the whole counsel of God." An ordinance which has such honor put upon it must surely be replete with meaning and laden with rich blessing to the rightful recipient. Those who, out of a spurious spirituality, reject the sacraments altogether must stand rebuked by the significant place assigned by our Lord to this initiatory rite.

2. We also learn that baptism is, in some sense, necessary to salvation. "He that believeth and is baptized shall be saved." We are elsewhere taught that faith alone is the ground of salvation. "Believe on the Lord Jesus Christ, and thou shalt be saved." But baptism is the divinely appointed means of conveying to the believer and his children the blessings promised to them. It is the

sign and seal of the covenant. Can he who rejects the sign and breaks the seal have any claim upon the blessings conveyed through it? Albert Barnes will not be accused of placing undue stress upon outward ordinances, yet he says, "He did not say, indeed, that no man could be saved without baptism, but He has strongly implied that when this is neglected, knowing it to be a command of the Saviour, it endangers the salvation of the soul." Baptism has more than "the necessity of precept" (Hodge). It is not only to be observed because commanded, but because it is the channel of the Holy Spirit's efficiency when conveying to the child of the covenant the covenant blessings of remission of sin, engrafting into Christ, regeneration and adoption; all which are "not only offered, but really exhibited and conferred by the Holy Ghost" in the ordinance to such as are entitled to its reception (Conf. of Faith, Chap. 28, Sec. 6). The text before us is generally explained by saying that "baptism is the appointed means of avowing" that one is a Christian, and that to refuse to "confess Christ before men" entails rejection by Christ at the judgment. Further, that this view also applies to the case of infants because their parents, or sponsors, speak for them. But we submit that it is not possible for one person to speak for another in such a matter. No one can give a pledge that a child will accept for himself the blessings sealed to him in baptism. A pledge means that the sponsor will himself fulfill the contract, or pay a prescribed penalty should the party for whom he goes surety fail to implement the agreement. What forfeit can any parent, or god-parent, pay should the child eventually become reprobate, a branch to be cut off and burnt? The idea is absurd. This is not the true position of the person presenting the child for baptism. He testifies simply to his own faith, and on the basis of that claims baptism for the child. The ordinance is conferred upon the unconscious babe, not because any one has spoken empty promises in his name, but because he is, through his parents, "federally holy" (Directory for Pub. Worship). For precisely the same reason it is administered to an adult. His faith shows him to have laid hold upon the covenant, that is, to be "federally holy," and therefore entitled to receive conveyance of the blessings promised. Not once in the New Testament is the slightest hint given that the ordinance is to be regarded as instituted for the purpose of enabling converts "to show their colors." On the other hand, we cannot regard baptism as so necessary to salvation that no unbaptized person can be saved. This is the error of Rome, in avoiding which we have minimized too much its importance. "The wind bloweth where it listeth," so the Spirit

works when and how He pleases. The one essential to salvation is faith in the atoning work of Christ. Where this is found, although accompanied by a very imperfect view of related doctrines, we cannot believe that ignorance or misconception will debar the penitent from salvation. But there must, in every case, be a grievous spiritual loss resulting from the omission of a means of grace on which the Church's Founder set so high an estimate.

3. We learn, further, that baptism consummates the new relation created by faith, and gives possession of the blessings which issue in salvation. "He that believeth and is baptized shall be saved"; that is, when the sentences of approval and condemnation shall be pronounced, the thought is carried forward to "the grand assize." Faith is our act, baptism is the divine response to that act. In baptism God gives, and by faith we receive. "Faith brings us to the sacred font of baptism; faith approaches it in humility, and penitence, and prayer; and faith returns from it in joy and adoration. But it is God Himself who meets the approach of faith and imparts to the duly qualified recipient the grace which He alone can give. It is through the conjunction of these two operations, that of grace and that of faith, that the blessed efficacy of the sacrament is brought about" (Dr. John MacLeod, *The Holy Sacrament of Baptism*). This correctly describes the spiritual process in adult converts. In the case of infants, the divine influence acts upon the child in answer to the parent's claim of faith. The child is wholly receptive; there is no ethical resistance on his part to the divine operation; the citadel of the soul is taken possession of in the name of its rightful lord. It then becomes the duty of the parent and of the Church to see that the child's mental, moral and affectional faculties are exercised in apprehending divine truth, obeying the divine law, and loving the divine Being; adopted by baptism into the family of God, he is to be taught to live the life of a child of God from the cradle. His salvation is not independent of the use of all the means of grace, but his baptism is a pledge that these will be effective in securing full salvation.

4. Finally, the absence of any reference to baptism in the second clause only emphasizes its significance in the first. Those who rejected the Gospel would not be admitted to, or indeed desire, baptism. Or if they had been baptized and afterward "fell away to perdition," it would not mitigate but increase their guilt that they had sinned against such grace. No one is condemned for his lack of baptism, but for his disbelief, whether baptized or not. We do not read "He that believeth and is not baptized shall be con-

demned," yet the wilful neglect of known duty is presumptuous sin, and the disuse of any means of grace entails spiritual loss, although the result of ignorance or error.

The only other passage in the Gospels which refers to Christian baptism occurs in the discourse of our Lord to Nicodemus: "Except a man be born of water and of the Spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdom of God" (John iii. 5). That the water of baptism is here referred to has been the opinion of expositors from apostolic times. Dr. MacLeod says, "The utmost possible weight ought to be attached to the fact that there is not a father or teacher, in the centuries following the time of the Holy Apostles, who does not understand this passage to refer to the sacrament of baptism; and further, there is not an ancient liturgy to be found throughout all the bounds of Christendom which does not, in one form or another, employ these words as directly embodying the baptismal mystery. Surely such a fact supplies the strongest presumption that what Christendom, without exception, understood these words to mean, the Lord Himself intended them to mean." For example, Justin Martyr, within 150 years of the birth of Christ, wrote a defense of Christianity addressed to the Emperor Antoninus Pius. In this he would be careful to state nothing but what expressed the accepted doctrines of the Church. Remember, too, that he lived at a time when the traditional oral teaching of the apostles was still remembered. In the sixty-first chapter of his *Apology* he thus describes baptism: "As many as are persuaded and believe that what we teach and say is true, and undertake to be able to live accordingly, are instructed to pray and to entreat God with fasting for the remission of their sins that are past, we praying and fasting with them. Then they are brought by us where there is water, and are regenerated in the same manner in which we were ourselves regenerated. For, in the name of God, the Father and Lord of the universe, and of our Saviour Jesus Christ, and of the Holy Spirit, they then receive the washing with water. For Christ also said, 'Except ye be born again, ye shall not enter into the kingdom of heaven.'" Additional evidence of the interpretation current in the ante-Nicene period will be found in Tertullian, Origen, Hippolytus and Cyprian. For 1500 years this interpretation was unquestioned. It was first controverted by Calvin, who held that "water" and "spirit" meant the same thing. It is, he said, an example of the rhetorical figure hendiadys. "The Spirit who in the ablution and purification of the souls of believers performs the office of water" (*Inst.*, B. iv, Ch. 16, sec. 25).

1. But the words are explanatory of "born anew" in verse 3. Had our Saviour intended to say no more than that he referred to a spiritual birth, He need not have mentioned water. The idea of a spiritual renewal would be familiar to Nicodemus (Ezek. xxxvi. 25-27 and elsewhere); what he did not understand was how such a thing could be required of a born Jew, already a son of Abraham. That a proselyte should be "born anew" he would readily concede, but he was encased in the Pharisaic pride of self-righteousness, which made it harder for him to perceive the need of a radical transformation of character than it was for publicans and harlots who had no such consciousness of rectitude. Our Lord informs him that this new birth is the work of the Spirit of God acting through the sacramental ordinance. This is a complete answer to the objection of Nicodemus, "How can a man be born when he is old? Can he enter a second time into his mother's womb and be born?" Even if such a literal birth were possible it would not effect the change indicated in "born anew," for that which was born of the flesh would still remain flesh. Our Saviour was accustomed to use the simplest and clearest language in speaking of His kingdom and would not here employ a word or phrase which, instead of elucidating the idea previously expressed, renders it still more obscure. The words cannot, without forcing the meaning into them, be taken in Calvin's sense.

2. There are, besides, grammatical difficulties in the way. The conjunction *καί*, "and," naturally suggests that "water" and "spirit," two separate concepts, are to be kept apart in thought, the latter being superadded to the former and not included under it. An exact parallel is found in the words of John the Baptist, "He shall baptize you with the Holy Ghost and (with) fire" (Matt. ii. 11; Mark iii. 16), a prediction which our Lord referred to as finding its fulfillment at Pentecost (Acts i. 5), when the Holy Spirit acted in conjunction with the outward element of fire. So here our Lord refers to the same Spirit's unseen action in conjunction with the outward emblem of water in the sacrament of baptism.

3. Furthermore, the preposition *ἐκ*, "out of" or "of," governing both "water" and "spirit," and not repeated before the latter, shows that the two together constitute "the objective and casual element out of which the birth from above is produced" (Meyer). A similar omission of the preposition will be observed in the expression "Holy Ghost and fire" quoted above.

4. Still further, the idea is that of a birth, not of a cleansing or purifying. The Holy Ghost is here represented as the planter of a new life. His creative power, rather than His sanctifying influ-

ence, is under consideration. The use of water in baptism is not to symbolize the Spirit's operation, but the cleansing efficacy of the blood of Christ. By this sin is washed away. It is in virtue of this that the Holy Spirit engrafts into Christ. The fact that water is used as an emblem both of the remission of sin through the blood of the cross and also of the sanctifying influence of the Holy Spirit has caused some confusion of thought as to its significance in baptism. Sanctification, which is a prolonged work of the Spirit subsequent to entrance into the kingdom, can have no place in the symbolism of the initiatory rite. In this the water sets forth the fact that the right recipient is washed from his sins in the precious blood of Christ, and on the ground of this receives the new life imparted by the Holy Spirit. This heavenly gift furnishes the beginning of what may become, if faithfully improved, what we generally understand by "regeneration," but is defined in our Shorter Catechism as "effectual calling." It rests with the baptized person to determine whether he will abide in union with the Vine, or, becoming unfruitful, be cut off and burned. Hence in our Directory the minister is instructed to pray that the Lord would make the child's baptism "effectual to him, and so uphold him by His divine power and grace, that by faith he may prevail against the devil, the world and the flesh, till in the end he obtain a full and final victory, and be so kept by the power of God through faith unto salvation, through Jesus Christ our Lord." That the atonement formed the subject of conversation between our Lord and Nicodemus is evident from the copious references to it in the succeeding part of the discourse. In such a very condensed summary, as this doubtless is, the evangelist would not think it necessary to elaborate the thought in the verse before us, since there was but one opinion regarding its meaning at the time he wrote, and that was, as we have seen from Justin Martyr, that the washing with water in baptism was the outward sign and seal of the new birth.

5. Lastly, we notice that the words "water" and "spirit" are without the article—"born of water and spirit." They are, therefore, it is said, used generically, and all reference to a particular ordinance is excluded. Weiss, quoted in the notes to the American edition of Meyer's Commentary, says: "The two factors are simply coördinated, the water conceived in its essence as a purifying factor . . . the Spirit as the efficient principle of the new life . . . ; and the thought is that without the doing away of the old sinful nature, and the creation of an entirely new nature from an efficient principle, the new birth does not exist." To us a much

more obvious inference is that our Lord refers to the words of John the Baptist, "I indeed baptize you with water unto repentance, but . . . he shall baptize you with the Holy Ghost and with fire" (Matt. iii. 11). He again recalls to mind these words on the eve of His ascension when He laid such emphasis upon baptism, "For John truly baptized with water, but ye shall be baptized with the Holy Ghost not many days hence" (Acts i. 5). Nicodemus was familiar with John's baptism, although, like most of the Pharisees and lawyers, he may have failed to appreciate it (Luke vii. 30). Our Lord now points out to him the difference between His kingdom and the merely preparatory preaching of His forerunner. The kingdom of heaven, the Messianic communion, is to be entered by an ordinance which conjoins with water the supernatural work of the Holy Spirit. It does not seem to us "historically inconceivable that Jesus should have spoken to Nicodemus of Christian baptism" (Weiss). Surely it was just as natural for Him to explain to an intelligent inquirer like Nicodemus the mystery of baptism as the mystery of His death, which he does in such clear language that there are no declarations on the subject more familiar even to the children of our Sunday-schools than verses 14 and 15. It would be strange indeed if, with the numerous lustrations of the Jews, the baptism of John, and it may be even already the baptisms performed by His own disciples before Him, Jesus should omit all notice of an ordinance so infinitely transcending these, although outwardly resembling them—one, moreover, on which he intended to place so high a value, and which in consequence occupies so prominent a place in the teachings of the apostles. It was precisely one of the "earthly things" which formed the theme of the interview, and whose meaning ought not to have been, and we believe was not, beyond the comprehension of "the teacher of Israel."

There are others who grant that the reference in this passage is to baptism, but assert that the baptism by water is not necessarily contemporaneous with that by the Holy Ghost. The child, for example, baptized in infancy, may not receive the baptism of the Spirit until some years later, perhaps never. But does not this reduce baptism to a mere symbol? When we baptize a child, if this be true, we have no idea what it may do for him. If it is a token of God's willingness to bestow pardon and blessing, but only if in after years the child shall believe and repent, wherein does the baptized child differ from the unbaptized? God will do as much for any child whether baptized or not. If there be no grace of the Holy Spirit accompanying the ordinance, placing the child

on a spiritual vantage ground as compared with one who has not received the sacrament, of what special benefit is the ceremony to the child? Is it deserving of the name of "a birth"? Can we believe that our Lord would speak of it in the same connection with the "birth from above" by the Holy Ghost? Moreover, the "birth from above" is one event, and it is explained as a birth "of water and spirit," which together must likewise constitute one event, one birth. You cannot divide a birth so that part of it takes place at one time and part at another. There is but one spiritual experience, joined to one sacramental rite, in the new birth taught to Nicodemus. Much of the repugnance that is felt toward any doctrine of baptismal grace is due to a misunderstanding of the term "regeneration," and therefore we shall not use it more than is necessary. "Regeneration" is now commonly understood to mean the radical and indelible change termed in our Shorter Catechism "effectual calling." That all who are baptized are effectually called, so that their faith and repentance in due time are infallibly secured, we would not for a moment assert. Facts are against such a belief. But that in and through the ordinance a special grace is conferred, so that a baptized person is placed in the way of salvation and is made a partaker of the spiritual life flowing from Christ, which "virtue of baptism" he may lose through resisting it, is a doctrine in entire accord with Scripture and the Standards of our Church. Our Lord here states that this ordinance is generally necessary to entrance into "the kingdom of heaven." The starting-point of the Christian life is the grace conferred in baptism, and from this onward the life of the Christian should be a progress toward the attainment of the Christian ideal, "unto a full-grown man, unto the measure of the stature of the fullness of Christ" (Eph. iv. 13). We, as parents, Sunday-school teachers and pastors, must tell the child of the grace possessed, teach him how to improve it, and inspire him with ardor to realize the divine intention in calling him by baptism into the family of Christ.

Passing next to the Acts of the Apostles we find nine instances of the administration of baptism, and from these we may learn much concerning the sense in which the apostles understood the words of our Lord. By these we may test our deductions and throw still further light upon the subject.

The first passage to which we shall call attention is the reply of the Apostle Peter to the inquiry of the conscience-stricken inquirers on the day of Pentecost: "Repent ye, and be baptized, every one

of you, in the name of Jesus Christ, unto the remission of your sins; and ye shall receive the gift of the Holy Ghost, for to you is the promise, and to your children" (Acts ii. 38, 39). The "you" is emphatic—"To you is the promise, to you and your little ones." The people are convinced that they have indeed committed the crime of crimes in crucifying their Messiah. "Have we," they ask, "really nullified the promises of God? Has the hope of Israel come to naught at our wicked hands? You do not look like men who preach despair. There is a light in your eyes that is not borrowed from the wine cup. Have you no message of hope for us?" To this agonized cry of the penitents Peter replied with an epitome of the Gospel. His words are plain and to the point. "The Messiah is not dead, but exalted to the right hand of God, and this is His first gift to His Church. His kingdom is now set up, and the door of entrance is the sacrament of baptism." The blessing in view is the remission of sin, and the gift bestowed is the Holy Ghost. To say that "unto" the remission of sins means only "typifying" or "setting forth" is surely inadequate. The ordinance invests the recipient with the blessings it denotes or else it is an empty ritual. In it the baptized is assured that the spiritual reality corresponding to its emblem is undoubtedly conveyed to him. He may not realize it in any burst of gladness suffusing his soul, but faith grasps the sacramental token as the divine guarantee and rests with confidence on a covenant-keeping God. What a delightful picture of primitive faith we see in the closing verses of the chapter! The sacramental rite has been accepted as God's sign-manual to the deed of forgiveness, and their hearts are full of the joy of Christ.

We notice, further, that the apostle encourages the people to repent and be baptized, because no one is excluded from participation in the promise of the Holy Spirit. All who hear the invitation are welcome to come and bring their little ones with them. If the apostle's words mean anything they imply that the children, by the parents' acceptance of Christ, were equally with them entitled to receive the grace promised, and through the same means, namely, baptism. This would be just what a Jew would expect. "The Church and people of God had hitherto been so constituted that not only adults but also little children belonged to the people of God, and with all these he made a covenant that he would be their God. Let us now suppose that on the day of Pentecost Peter had thus addressed the Jews: 'Brethren, repent, and let every one of you be baptized in the name of Jesus Christ, for the remission of sins; but your little children shall not be baptized, they shall remain

in their sins, continue in their state of condemnation, and be counted among the people of Satan until they grow up and reach the years of understanding.' What answer would the devout Jews have made?" (Bugenhagen, quoted in Lange). Yet this is precisely what Anabaptists hold that the words imply. The deniers of any real objective grace in baptism are substantially at one with them. Notwithstanding their beautifully nebulous theories of "covenant rights," they give us scarcely any more encouragement to hope for a real, specific blessing on our baptized offspring. Compare the answer of Peter with the replies made to similar questions now. Is baptism ever referred to when pointing out to the penitent the way of salvation? How far we have departed from the apostolic point of view will come out still more strikingly when we come to notice the homiletic use made of baptism in the epistles. Neither in Christian lands nor in the midst of heathen is baptism regarded by Presbyterians as God's hand stretched out to welcome and help the convert. It is thought of chiefly as the "crossing of the Rubicon," severing the ungodly life of the past from the consecrated life of the future, and as an open avowal before the Church and the world that henceforth the baptized is a Christian. Its incidental results have obscured in our minds the real significance of the ordinance. It is all this, but infinitely more.

The baptism of the Samaritan converts is specially interesting as bringing before us the case of Simon Magus (Acts viii. 5-24), which is frequently adduced as disproving any theory of baptismal grace. To our mind it confirms the theory we are defending in a remarkable manner. All the converts, including Simon, were only in the condition of "baptized" persons (verse 16). They had not received the Holy Spirit in such a form or degree as followed the imposition of the apostles' hands. His inner working, manifesting itself ethically, not visibly in voice and gesticulation (verse 18), was all they knew. The phrase "into the name of the Lord Jesus" is not to be connected with "only," as if an incomplete form of baptism had been administered and that this was the reason of their lack of the full gift of the Spirit, as if it read "they had been baptized only into the name of the Lord Jesus." We have seen, in discussing the baptismal formula, that "into" has a pregnant sense. It means into spiritual, real and living union with Christ in His mediatorial capacity. Baptism into the name of the Trinity is effective only inasmuch as it brings the subject of it into participation in the life of the risen and glorified Saviour, hence it is often briefly described as baptism into His name alone. The superadded gift of the Holy

Ghost referred to in this case and elsewhere was connected, not with baptism, but with the laying on of the apostles' hands. The two bestowments are related to one another, but differ in means, time and degree. They must be carefully distinguished here. Baptism was followed by the usual evidences of a new and hallowed influence in the lives of the Samaritan converts—"there was much joy in that city"—but the imposition of the apostles' hands conveyed powers of a more marvelous character. There is no hint that Simon had made an insincere profession. The contrary is fairly implied. Whatever the others received in baptism was apparently bestowed upon him as well. But the sight of these new marvels awoke the old heathen desires in his heart. The old love of commerce with the unseen world and a longing for the homage which the possession of such powers would bring—crowning him anew, and more deservedly, with his former title of "The Great Power of God"—came upon him with overwhelming force and he fell before the temptation. May we not hope, from his meek reply to Peter's scathing rebuke, that some spark of the divine life remained unextinguished? If we are compelled to fear that it was otherwise, then he was one of those "who draw back unto perdition" (Heb. x. 39), whom Jude calls "twice dead, plucked up by the roots" (Jude 12), after they had been planted and had flourished for a time, or who, as Peter himself says, perhaps with his unhappy namesake in mind, "having escaped the pollution of the world through the knowledge of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ," they "are again entangled therein" (2 Peter ii. 20).

The case of Simon Magus has no bearing upon the doctrine of baptism as applied to infants, unless it is adduced to prove that no spiritual endowment is ever connected with the ordinance. It does indeed forbid us to claim that baptism insures "effectual calling"; but this no Protestant asserts. All that we maintain is that baptism—that is, the whole sacrament, not the outward, visible part alone—brings one into contact, so to speak, with the heavenly powers. Whether they take possession of the soul or not depends, in the case of the adult, upon the genuineness of his repentance and faith; in the case of the infant, upon the validity of the parental claim to covenant status. In the case of both adult and infant the received grace must be nourished and strengthened by appropriate means, else it may be withdrawn. There must be a diligent use of the means of grace, else the initial grace will have been received in vain. It is universally conceded that baptism is not to be repeated. The Reformers and the divines of the Westminster period are most un-

sparing in their denunciation of the Anabaptists for rebaptizing by immersion those who had been the recipients of the sacrament in infancy. No matter if the child grows up into a godless youth, or the adult confesses that he was no true believer when he received the ordinance, in neither case is he rebaptized. The rite, administered in good faith on the part of the Church, brings to the recipient "the kingdom of God." If notwithstanding his prodigal wandering there is ultimately granted unto him repentance unto life, this is the fruit of the initial engrafting into Christ in baptism which has now become effective. In no case whatever is Holy Baptism an empty form. Either, like the preaching of the Word, it is "a savor of life unto life" or it is "a savor of death unto death," "a sweet savor of Christ unto God in them that are being saved," an added and awful condemnation "in them that are perishing" (2 Cor. ii. 15, 16), for they "were once enlightened, and tasted of the heavenly gift, and were made partakers of the Holy Ghost, and tasted the good word of God, and the powers of the age to come," yet have rejected all, thereby "crucifying to themselves the son of God afresh, and putting Him to an open shame" (Heb. vi. 4-6). The New Testament is full of warnings against the danger of losing the baptismal standing and so sinking into irretrievable condemnation.

There is not much in the account of the baptism of the Ethiopian eunuch (Acts viii. 26-39) which throws light upon the meaning of the ordinance, but as far as it goes it is in harmony with all that we have said. We are told that Philip "preached unto him Jesus," and the result was that his hearer desired baptism. Clearly the meaning and value of baptism, as putting the convert in possession of Christ and the benefits of redemption, must have formed part of Philip's teaching. There is a blessing in the ordinance which he is anxious to secure ere he passes into his own country, beyond the reach of those who can communicate it to him. It is commonly said that the eunuch wished to be baptized so that he might "publicly confess Christ." But there is no hint of this motive in the narrative. He makes no formal profession of faith, for verse 37 is not genuine. The eunuch believes and accepts the Gospel. He is immediately received into the Church and becomes spiritually a member of the body of Christ. Immediately there comes to him that joyful sense of forgiveness and of blessed fellowship with Christ which was a characteristic experience of the newly baptized in that age of childlike and unquestioning faith. Doubtless the Ethiopian chancellor was accompanied by an escort befitting his rank, but they have so little to do with the Christian sacrament that imagina-

tion does not associate them with the two actors in the scene. They may have been, doubtless were, deeply impressed, but the narrative does not think it worth while to mention the fact. Their edification is wholly incidental, and entirely subordinate to the end in view, namely, the bestowment of a spiritual blessing upon the eunuch.

The baptism of Cornelius and his family (Acts x. 1-48) was preceded by a series of most extraordinary miraculous occurrences. A heavenly messenger was sent to Cornelius, not in a trance, but objectively present to his senses of sight and hearing while in a waking condition, and in broad daylight (verse 3). Then Peter, also in a waking but ecstatic state, beheld an allegoric representation and heard a voice, significantly thrice repeated, which kept his mind in a state of expectancy and ready to apply its teaching to the course of duty about to open up to him. While he pondered on the meaning of this vision, the messengers of Cornelius arrived. A communication of the Spirit, given doubtless in the usual manner, at once connected their visit with his vision, and Peter went with them, believing that in so doing he would arrive at a clear understanding of the Spirit's message. Arrived at the home of Cornelius he is made aware of the circumstances which led to his being summoned, and now perceives that his vision warrants him in doing what he would not have done of his own motion, namely, offer the Gospel to a Gentile. He seems to think that this is the full meaning of his vision (verses 34 and 35), but he is mistaken. As he is preaching, the Pentecostal outpouring of the Holy Spirit is repeated (xi. 15-18). Gentiles also "spake with tongues and magnified God." What more could they have? Surely Peter had nothing now to do but join in their grateful praises? No; this new miracle means that he must receive Cornelius into the Christian Church as a true member of the mystical body of Christ. If he refuses he "withstands God." The end to which the whole series of miracles led up was the administration of the ordinance of baptism. That it was administered to those who had already received the fuller blessing usually following baptism on the imposition of the apostles' hands does not lessen the significance of the rite, but emphasizes it. Here the order of bestowment is reversed for the purpose of manifesting the will of God. But baptism has a grace of its own which is necessary, notwithstanding the obvious fact that Cornelius and his family were already received into signal divine favor. The full significance of the occasion did not dawn upon Peter until sometime afterward, when, in the council at Jerusalem, he deduced from it the

conclusion that to become a Christian, in the fullest sense of the word, did not require any conformity to the law of Moses (xv. 7-11). Thus we see an ample reason for such a wide departure from the ordinary rule. Baptism is not depreciated; on the contrary its necessity is emphasized by being preceded by objective manifestations of the Holy Spirit. These testify to His subjective operation in the sacrament that follows when it is administered in the usual circumstances as a prerequisite to the fuller gift, which here for a special reason anticipates the ordinance. The baptism of Cornelius gave the warrant for admitting to the "laver of regeneration" the whole Gentile world. Without some such authorization as this the door of the Kingdom would never have been opened to the uncircumcised.

It is noteworthy that the point in Peter's discourse at which the miraculous phenomena occurred was when he said, "Through His name every one that believeth on Him shall receive remission of sins." Then came the baptism of the Holy Ghost, reminding him of "the word of the Lord, how that He said, John indeed baptized with water; but ye shall be baptized with the Holy Ghost," and thus suggesting the distinctive virtue of the Christian ordinance, it constrained him to seal to these Gentiles the remission of their sins in baptism.

The baptism of Saul of Tarsus is remarkable for the emphasis which is laid upon the remission of sins in the sacrament. Ananias says, "And now why tarriest thou? Arise and be baptized, and wash away thy sins, calling on his name" (Acts xxii. 16). The meaning here is the same as in 1 Cor. vi. 11, where Paul, referring to the sins of the unregenerate, says, "And such were some of you, but ye washed away your sins." When? The time past is indicated by the aorist tense. Surely at the only "washing" known to Christian ritual, their baptism. Then it was that "ablution" of sins was received. Meyer says that the middle forms are purposely chosen, and under 1 Cor. vi. 11 says that the use of the middle voice arises from the conception of their self-destination for baptism—"let thyself be baptized, and thereby wash away thy sins." Alford agrees with Meyer, and states that the aorist middle cannot be used passively, "were washed"; the reflexive force of the middle voice lies in the idea of willing submission to the baptismal rite. To say that the words of Ananias mean "receive baptism as an act expressive of the washing away of sin" (Barnes), is to subject exegesis to dogmatics. Dr. Lindsay would explain away the sacramental sense by understanding the words to mean "submit to baptism in order to

be forgiven; for baptism is the sign of repentance and faith, which are the conditions of salvation." Rather, in the case of adults, which alone Dr. Lindsay seems to contemplate, repentance and faith are the conditions of baptism, while the latter is the sign of the washing away of sin. But it is a sacramental sign, conveying the grace it symbolizes. It is not, of course, maintained that Saul's sins would have remained unforgiven had he not received baptism, but that rite was to him the act and conveyance of pardon. In it pardoning mercy made actual what was only up to that point a gracious intention. Baptism marks the moment when the Saviour's voice may be heard saying, in the ordinance He has appointed for that purpose, "Thy sins are forgiven thee." "We have here a noble testimony to the value which was assigned to Holy Baptism by the pure Apostolic Church. It was not a mere external ceremony, but a means of grace for washing away sins, and was the first actual entrance into the Church of Jesus" (Lange). Only dogmatic predilections can induce any fair interpreter to deny that in these words Ananias promised Saul that on which his heart was set, and which, doubtless, had been the subject of his penitential prayers during his fasting and blindness, the free and full forgiveness of his persecuted Master.

The baptism of Lydia (Acts xvi. 15) illustrates the spiritual preparation required of the adult, and the baptism of the family upon the parent's profession of faith. The joy and gratitude of Lydia found expression in her hospitality to those who had been the means of bringing such a blessing to her home. The narrative is brief, but it is quite in harmony with the views we have expressed.

In the narrative of the baptism of the Philippian jailer (Acts xvi. 31-34) we notice that salvation is promised to "his house," as well as to himself, should he believe on the Lord Jesus Christ. "Believe on the Lord Jesus, and thou shalt be saved, thou and thy house." The position of "thou" is emphatic. This is strictly in accordance with the declaration of Peter on the day of Pentecost. "For to you is the promise, and to your children." Accordingly when he "believed in God" he "was baptized, he and all his immediately," and the usual spiritual gladness follows—"he rejoiced greatly, with all his house." They shared his faith as far as their age and faculties permitted, they were his partners in the reception of the "washing of regeneration," and they, too, experienced the joy which a sense of reconciliation brings.

The usual interpretations seem to us to rob the narrative of its full significance. Barnes says that the apostle means only "the

same salvation is equally adapted to, and offered to, your family." In this Alford concurs, paraphrasing the words into "Believe, and thou shalt be saved, and the same of thy household." But the household were present (verse 32); why should he address them indirectly? He might just as well have said the same to the other prisoners and prison guards. The family relationship must in some way have given pertinency to the words. Dr. Lumby, in the Cambridge Bible for Schools, says that the words were spoken "with the thought that what the head of the house did would be followed by the members." In other words, it was a hint that he ought to believe for the sake of his family. But all of these views import gratuitously into the apostle's words some idea which will make them conform to a dogmatic prejudice. Taken in their plain sense they mean that the jailer's faith would bring salvation to his family. Whatever faith brought to the jailer through baptism was bestowed upon his "house" as well. Where the members were adults, or in the degree in which they were self-determining moral beings, the conditions incidental to their age and capacity were, in the nature of things, necessary. But where they were infants or young children, not yet arrived at the age of responsibility, there is no hint that the ordinance only promised blessings, the actual bestowment of which was deferred until they could meet the requirements demanded of adults. To them, too, came salvation in virtue of the ethical unity of the family. Salvation is not promised to the jailer irrespective of the use of the means of grace. If he neglects prayer and the study of the Word, or abandons himself to the practice of known sin, his present profession and baptism will not save him. They will only heighten his guilt and insure his sterner condemnation. So also salvation must come to his children in and through the use of the proper means—faith and prayer on the part of the parent and instruction of the child as to his covenant status with its privileges and promises. But baptism is the pledge to the believing and faithful parent who pleads the divine promises, that the use of the means will be met by responsive grace in the heart of the child, and the one so dear to him will not be wanting when God counts His jewels. He has trusted Christ for His own salvation; he may trust Him undoubtingly also for that of his child. That equal fidelity on the part of a godly Baptist parent will not be met with the same gracious coöperating influence, we would not be so harsh as to assert. Our loving Father is very tender to the blindness of his weak and erring children. But such a one misses the comfort and strength which he might have were he to accept the

Bible teaching regarding the children of the covenant. To sum up, we can fairly deduce from the passage before us that faith in Christ is the sole condition of salvation, and that when a man professes this he, with his children, comes within the covenant, and all are equally entitled to the seal of that gracious contract, the blessings it confers and whatever flows from the heavenly union of the soul with Christ which is therein consummated. The most natural, and at the same time the richest, meaning of the apostle's words is one which is fully in accord with the general doctrine of baptism taught, as we shall see, in the Westminster Standards.

The narrative in the Acts merely mentions the fact that "many of the Corinthians hearing, believed, and were baptized" (Acts xviii. 8). This by itself throws no light upon our subject. But there is an interesting reference to the fact here chronicled in Paul's First Epistle to the Corinthian Church, where he says (i. 13-17), "I thank God that I baptized none of you, save" a few that he mentions, "for Christ sent me not to baptize, but to preach the Gospel." This passage has been quoted as showing the small value set by the robust-minded apostle upon a "mere outward ordinance." Dr. Charles Hodge says, "This means that baptism was very inferior to preaching." Such an inference is wholly unwarranted and unjust. Why does Paul express his thankfulness that he had baptized so few? "Lest any man should say that ye were baptized into my name." Not because baptism was a minor ordinance, but lest any one should be misled and consider it a purely human sign of personal allegiance to a teacher, instead of a divine mystery in which God seals pardon through the cleansing blood of Christ. He could not set preaching over against baptism, as if the former had nothing to do with the latter. We have seen that in the "Great Commission" baptism, or the doctrine underlying it, is part of the "Gospel." Paul could not preach "the whole counsel of God" without dwelling with due emphasis upon the sacrament which was necessary to entrance into the Church. We shall see as we study his epistles, notably those to the Corinthian Church, what stress he lays upon it as bringing Christians under a sacred obligation, as members of Christ's body, to walk worthy of their exalted Head. Paul was the last man in the world to speak lightly of the ordinance through which the joy of conscious acceptance came to his own heart. As an apostle his duties included baptizing, but owing to his rapidly passing from one place to another, as he sought to "make disciples of all nations," he could not stay long enough in one place to follow up his preaching with the further instruction necessary; so he, with the

other apostles, "appointed for themselves elders in every church" (xiv. 23), to whom they relegated the ordinary ministration of word and sacrament. Paul evangelized, they shepherded. The attitude of the apostle toward baptism is fully shown in our next passage.

Arrived at Ephesus, Paul found twelve men who professed to be disciples of Christ (Acts xix. 1-7). Wishing to bestow upon them the full endowment of spiritual blessing he inquires, "Did ye receive the Holy Ghost when ye became believers?" that is, as seen by the next question, "when ye were baptized?" They reply, "Nay, we did not so much as hear whether the Holy Ghost was given." (Compare the exactly similar expression in John vii. 39, "the Holy Ghost was not yet given"). Paul in effect answers, "How could you be ignorant of the giving of the Holy Ghost if ye were baptized into Christ? Into what, then, were ye baptized?" They said, "Into John's baptism." "Ah," says Paul, "that explains matters. John's baptism was only preparatory and prophetic; the baptism of Christ is that of the Holy Ghost of which John spake." They were then first baptized, and afterward, upon the imposition of the apostle's hands, received the further divine afflatus which manifested itself in the gifts of tongues and ecstatic utterances. The facts that Paul inquired into their baptismal standing and performed the rite before bestowing any further grace shows that he did not consider the sacrament as an ordinance of inferior importance, but rather as the necessary preliminary to the right reception of further gifts and teaching and having a special grace of its own. The view of Calvin that verse 5 means, not the baptism of water, but the baptism of the Spirit, which verse 6 more precisely explains, is on a par with his interpretation of John iii. 5. It is what Meyer calls "an error of dogmatic presupposition." The baptism of verse 5 stands in apposition to "John's baptism," and the gift received in verse 6 is that concerning which Paul inquired in verse 2. There might be baptism which was not followed by the imposition of apostolic hands and the recipients of which could not, therefore, "speak with tongues and prophecy," but there could be no gift-conferring rite until first the necessary qualification for the reception of it had been bestowed in baptism. The instance of the reversal of this order in the baptism of Cornelius' household is the exception which proves the rule.

St. John, N. B.

T. F. FOTHERINGHAM.

VII.

EDUCATION AS A NATIONAL ASSET OF JAPAN.

THE sudden appearance of Japan upon the world's stage as a first-class power is by common consent regarded as one of the most sensational incidents of modern history. Rulers, statesmen, diplomats, scholars, and men of affairs have been taken by surprise. The most far-seeing leaders in world politics, and the most astute students of the Orient, have alike had their horizons enlarged to such an extent that an entirely new point of view must be taken of the possibilities latent in the Far East. A radical readjustment of the international horoscope becomes necessary.

The subject is suggestive and fascinating, but in view of the limitations of space only a single aspect of it can be treated. It has been one of the lessons of history that general education counts as a valuable national asset. A high standard of intelligence among a people is like a power-house, from which heavily charged forces of mental energy may work mightily in shaping public opinion and directing the public will. The intelligent, thinking man makes the best citizen, the best workman, the best merchant, the best soldier; the well-informed and well-trained mind possesses that power of initiation, that gift of discernment, that capacity to judge values, that instinct to read destiny, and that genius to grasp ideals which, when characteristic of citizenship in general, give a splendid endowment of power to a whole people.

Modern Japan has already made a wise and noble investment in education. It has become one of her national assets, and will no doubt greatly contribute to the moral and intellectual enrichment of the empire, and to the molding of both her internal and external policy in harmony with a high type of civilization. It will probably take rank as one of the most extraordinary educational movements of history. In studying it we shall endeavor to show in passing that an honorable and, in fact, at one stage, a leading place may be justly accorded to missions as an inspiring factor in this phenomenal development. That a nation of forty-six million people which came into touch with the modern world not more than half

a century ago should organize an elaborate system of State education, administer it efficiently, endow it with a complete working plant, enlisting meanwhile in its support the enthusiastic coöperation of all classes, and accomplish this unprecedented achievement virtually within the limits of a single generation, is surely a phenomenon of exceptional interest and impressiveness.

The stir of the awakening came with the opening of the empire by Commodore Perry in 1853 and 1854, and the subsequent treaties of Townsend Harris on behalf of America, and of Lord Elgin on behalf of Great Britain, the former being signed July 29, 1858, and the latter August 26 of the same year. The beginning of the Meiji era, in 1868, witnessed the initial efforts set in motion to develop a modern educational system. In 1871 a Department of Education was established, and in 1873 a programme was drawn up, modeled after the approved methods of the West. Even at this juncture the enterprising youth of Japan did not wait for the opening of the door of opportunity at home, but, as we know, came by hundreds to America and other Western lands, in search of educational privileges. The Emperor, in 1872, issued his remarkable proclamation of an educational code, in which occurs this striking sentence: "It is intended that henceforth education shall be so diffused that there may not be a village with an ignorant family, or a family with an ignorant member." In setting before themselves the accomplishment of so monumental a task the Japanese had the wisdom to seek the advice and aid of educational experts—men of gifts and experience, mostly from America, into whose charge were committed various departments of the general scheme. The late Dr. David Murray was invited to become Superintendent of Schools and Colleges, and was installed as official adviser to the whole Educational Department of Japan.

The service rendered by missionaries at this time was of conspicuous value. Dr. Hepburn's Dictionary became a serviceable working tool, indispensable as a link between the Japanese language and Western learning. Dr. Guido F. Verbeck was called upon by the Government as early as 1869 to establish a college after the Western model. In fulfilling this mission he became virtually an instrument in laying the foundations of an Imperial University. He acted for a time as adviser of the Government in its educational plans, and so identified himself with intellectual progress, during a period of ten years, that he has been justly regarded as one of the founders of the whole educational machinery of the empire. He assumed, at the same time, the rôle of political counselor and guide

to the leading men in government circles. Dr. Samuel R. Brown was another missionary educator whose services were notable at this formative period. "Nine-tenths," writes Dr. Griffis, "of the modern educated men and women of Japan before 1890, and a majority of those in influence and office to-day, received their first instruction from American missionaries." Female education received also an abiding incentive at this time through the services of Mrs. Louise H. Pierson. A Japanese official is quoted as saying, concerning the initial efforts to promote female education: "You missionary ladies have done a vastly greater work for Japan than you ever dreamed of. Our Government had no hope for success in establishing girls' schools until we were inspired by your successes." The growth of the educational spirit has been quickened by such Japanese Christians as Neesima, Honda, Ibuka, Nijima, Ebara, Motoda, Oshikawa, Yoshioka, and Kataoka. Men of affairs have promoted these high interests with patriotic devotion and liberal gifts. Mr. Fukuzawa was an example of a man of great public spirit and enlightened views on national questions, who established what is practically an independent university, in which ethical instruction and moral discipline receive due attention.

The Japanese educational system, although a wonderful achievement, with many admirable features, is not without some grave defects, and in the hands of reactionary administrators it may even become a source of moral weakness to the nation. Its ethical basis and its religious trend both lack the highest and most efficient elements of educational power. It is not meant that ethical instruction is altogether neglected, but that moral discipline is based rather upon patriotic ideals derived from the national consciousness or from social custom, without inspiring religious incentives and with hardly any pressure of supreme authority to support it. Things that ought to be observed or done are taught in the form of maxims or rules, with such a routine of wearisome iteration that many teachers regard the hour for instruction in ethics, or, in other words, the classic formulæ of the traditional moral systems of Confucianism and Buddhism, as the most unwelcome and tiresome feature of the curriculum. The stimulus of a quickened conscience and the grip of moral obligation are apt to be lacking, while practice is hardly counted a serious duty, except by those already predisposed to a moral life.

The spirit of patriotic chivalry, which is inspired by reverence for ancestral traditions and by devotion to the ruling Emperor—that code of the Samurai, with its loyalty and its intense *esprit de*

corps, which has flamed up so marvelously in the present great struggle for national existence and international prestige—is an endowment of which any people may be proud. It comes to the rescue, so far as certain aspects of public duty are concerned. It is, however, a code of honor, an Order of Knighthood (known among the Japanese as “*Bushido*”), rather than a religion of love and humility, which finds its inspiration in reverence for the Christ who exemplifies universal sacrifice, teaches pure and noble morals for all men, and emphasizes the brotherhood of mankind in terms of gentleness and unselfish service.

The Japanese themselves, in many instances, recognize the imperfection of such a system, but those in authority, while seeking to provide a remedy, have apparently, as yet, failed to comprehend the need of a spiritual and religious sanction to ethics. The Emperor’s “Imperial Rescript on Morals,” issued in 1890, was intended to relieve this situation and give to the educational system a more invigorating quality. It can hardly be said, however, to have been really helpful in this respect, as it made the traditional moral standards of Japan, in a somewhat idealized form, virtually the highest rule of conduct for succeeding generations. Japan must be built upon Japan, the Japanese must be good Japanese, true to themselves and to their history, a reproduction of their ancestral exemplars—this seems to be the first incentive and the final word of the moral code. It amounts virtually to a deification of the nation. In a work on ethics for use in the schools, with the full knowledge and probable sanction of the Department of Education, occurs the following sentence: “Our country’s history clearly constitutes our sacred book and moral code. . . . Our sacred book is our history, holy and perfect, the standard of morals throughout all time, having not the slightest flaw. We have this divine, sacred book of history; do we need to seek another?”

This appeal to national consciousness and historic ideals may, no doubt, be regarded by some as a close counterpart of natural religion; but must it not be conceded that while Japanese education brings to the front no loftier moral standards than those based upon mere historic precedent, and enforces them with no more vigorous appeals to the conscience than are involved in national hero worship, it will inevitably follow that the educational programme will be lacking in power? In addition, the portrait of the Emperor is hung in every school, and receives honors which would naturally be understood as placing him in the seat of moral authority, if not of religious supremacy. In the stress and strain of that mighty

conflict with evil which marks all human experience, the Japanese surely need the authoritative guidance of a Sovereign higher than the loftiest human ruler, and the gracious help of that divine love and compassion which have been the support of the human heart and the inspiration of heroic service among the advanced nations of the earth.

The Department of Education, in 1899, under the influence of a narrow and nationalistic policy, promulgated a restrictive "Instruction" concerning education, prohibiting, in fact, all religious teaching, not only in State institutions, but in all private and mission schools of the empire. This was made a subject of respectful remonstrance by missionaries, as well as by some of the leading liberal spirits of the empire. The remonstrance did not concern itself so much with State education, but insisted that private teaching in mission and other schools entirely dissociated from the State system should be relieved from such a prohibition, on the ground that it was an infringement of the religious liberty embodied in the Constitution of Japan. Such enlightened non-Christian educators in the empire as Mr. Fukuzawa and Count Okuma were equally strenuous in deprecating this reactionary policy of the Educational Department. The prohibition was finally repealed, so far as private schools were concerned. This result is clearly an advance in the direction of a more liberal interpretation of religious liberty in Japan.

The facilities provided by the State represent a completely graded ladder of educational agencies, from the kindergarten to the university, providing every opportunity for a generous and quickening intellectual culture through the channel of a broad and varied curriculum. The latest statistics of education under governmental auspices, as furnished in an article in *The Churchman* some months ago, by His Excellency Kogoro Takahira, Japanese Minister to the United States, are as follows: 2 universities, with 4046 students; 57 normal schools, with 19,194 pupils; 258 middle schools, with 95,027 pupils; 859 industrial and technical schools, with 57,855 pupils; 80 higher schools for girls, with 21,523 pupils; 50 public and private special schools, with 16,390 pupils; 8 government teachers' training institutes, with 319 pupils; 27,154 elementary schools, with an attendance of 5,135,487 scholars. The total State educational plant would, therefore, be represented by 28,468 schools of all grades, with 5,349,841 pupils. State education is compulsory, and the above attendance represents about 94 per cent. of the boys and 82 per cent. of the girls, being, as is evident, a very

large proportion of the children between six and fourteen years of age. The total of children within the school age amounts in round numbers to 7,500,000. The technical, commercial, and special schools have increased rapidly in numbers, and are in prosperous condition, the courses offered being remarkably complete and thorough, giving to graduates at once a professional and commercial standing, which is of great value. As for the training given in the military, naval, and engineering schools, no one is to-day likely to doubt its practical excellence.

A fine Agricultural College at Sapporo is a State institution conducted with great efficiency. Under the presidency of William S. Clark, Ph.D., LL.D., from the State Agricultural College at Amherst, Massachusetts, it assumed an importance among the public institutions which has made its record especially honorable. It bids fair to develop into a university in the near future. Christian influence has been strong, and many of its students have become men of prominence in the Christian community of the empire. The two State universities are at Tokyo and Kyoto. The facilities, especially in higher education, are so complete that there has been a large influx of students from China, who are seeking a foreign education under Japanese auspices. The expenditure of the Department of Education increased from about \$8,500,000 (gold) in 1896 to \$18,000,000 in 1900. It has probably increased proportionately since the latter date.

Educational provision for girls has claimed a good share of this amount, as the cause of female education has been remarkably vindicated in Japan, so much so that a University for Women (Joshi Dai Gakko) was established at Tokyo in April, 1901. The founder is Prof. Naruse, an enterprising Japanese Christian, who has made a special study of the facilities for female education in Christian lands, and has devoted himself to this line of service at home. His undertaking has proved immensely popular, an attendance of more than eight hundred pupils being already reported. It is supported by Japanese funds contributed by men of wealth interested in the education of women. Christian students have every opportunity afforded them, and enjoy religious freedom. Count Okuma is Chairman of the Board of Trustees, and is deeply interested in the undertaking. Among its departments is one devoted to domestic science. There are other notable efforts on behalf of female education, independent of the government scheme; we may mention the School for Peeresses, and the admirable institution recently established by Miss Umé Tsuda, at Tokyo. The city of Tokyo has

become the educational centre of the empire, and is estimated by a prominent Tokyo journal to contain a student population of about fifty thousand. We have spoken of two State universities, at Tokyo and Kyoto. The University for Women, it may be said, makes a third. There are still two others, the one founded by Mr. Fukuzawa and another by Count Okuma, making in all five Japanese universities, three of which are independent of State aid.

In view of the naturalistic basis of morals which underlies State education in Japan, and the absence of a religious impress upon the character of its instruction, the function of mission education appears all the more needful in the moral interests of the nation. Special usefulness attaches also to Christian work among students. The Young Men's Christian Association has an important sphere in the collegiate and university life of Japan. It has been organized with a view especially to its efficiency among the student body. Mr. John R. Mott, of the Student Volunteer Movement, has visited Japan at intervals, in the capacity of a student evangelist, with memorable and cheering results. The Christian instruction in mission schools, with its moral anchorage and religious incentive, is, therefore, in some measure, an offset to the obscurantist policy of government education. It is coming more and more to be recognized among thoughtful moralists everywhere that the education which does not touch, inform, and develop the spiritual and religious faculty in the young is, however elaborate its scope, partial and defective, and in certain vital respects profitless.

Distinguished leaders in Japan speak very plainly of the peril of the present situation. Baron Iwasaki has recently said on this point: "In all the essentials of outward improvement there has been remarkable progress—remarkable to a degree quite out of proportion to what might have been expected. But it is otherwise when one looks below the surface, and searches for those qualities without which there can be no solid advance, nor any legitimate enlightenment. In these essentials the record is not encouraging. A marked absence of the sense of responsibility is necessarily accompanied by want of respect for one's self, and a failure therefore to win the respect and confidence of others. The low value set upon integrity destroys mutual trust. The defect is not in the basis of Japanese character; in the days when the old Samurai spirit prevailed, loyalty, self-sacrifice, faithfulness to promises, and courageous perseverance were conspicuous traits of the educated man. But in the rush of modern materialism these qualities have been submerged. The great wants of the time are earnestness of

purpose and integrity of conduct. The lack of a sense of responsibility and the indifference to moral restraints displayed by leading Japanese are not due to deficient learning."

Under such conditions it is manifestly from the mission schools that Christian workers will be supplied. The Imperial University has, as yet, made but a nominal contribution to the distinctively Christian forces of the empire. The record of several mission schools shows that they are nurseries of Christian character. Sixty-five per cent. of the students who have been connected with the Ferris Seminary at Yokohama have become Christians, and of those who have been graduated the proportion is ninety-five per cent. The record of the Joshi Gakuin, of the Presbyterian Mission at Tokyo, is even more remarkable, nearly every graduate having become a professing Christian. The Kobe College for Girls has a record of more than ninety per cent. in church members. The Joshi Gakuin, up to 1900, had graduated forty-eight, and of this number forty-one had become Christian workers, and of 164 graduates of the Kobe College 100 have been in Christian service. Still another example of the social stimulus and extended utility along various lines of usefulness is furnished in the following record of students of the Anglo-Japanese College of the Methodist Mission at Tokyo. Among them are found five professors in the Imperial University, fifty-six teachers in middle-grade schools, twenty-one Christian preachers, seventy-seven in business life, six editors, five physicians, twenty-three government officials, ten officers in the army, five officers in the navy, and a scattering representation among lawyers, artists, engineers, explorers, legislators, and diplomatic officials. This is surely ample testimony in vindication of the far-reaching influence of missionary education.

Dr. Neesima founded the Doshisha at Kyoto in 1875, and its record is already remarkable. Fully 4700 students have been connected with this notable institution, and its graduates number over a thousand. Out of this list ninety-three have become preachers, and 147 teachers. Scattered throughout Japan there are 148 merchants, nineteen journalists, thirty-four bankers, and twenty-eight government officials who are representatives of its graduates. In a single year—the one preceding Dr. Neesima's death—172 conversions were reported among its students. Its last report gives its student enrollment as 522. Under its new president, Mr. Shimomura, continued and satisfactory progress seems assured. Among other leading missionary institutions in Japan, in addition to those already mentioned, may be noted St.

Paul's College, Aoyama College, and the Meiji Gakuin, of Tokyo, the Anglo-Japanese College at Kobe, Steele College at Nagasaki, the Anglo-Japanese College at Nagoya, and the Tohoku Gakuin at Sendai, reporting in all about 1400 pupils. There are thirty-eight theological and training schools, with some 600 students. Boarding and high schools number fifty-five, with 6682 pupils. The total number of evangelical mission schools of all grades, reported in the latest statistical tables, is as follows: Schools, 173, with 13,196 pupils. Nearly half of these schools are for girls, with, approximately, 5000 pupils.

A national spirit like that of Japan, once educated and enlightened, becomes an instrument of power which is destined to have a far-reaching mission, not only among the nations of the Far East, but among the nations of the world. If such supreme patriotism, having been linked with general and trained intelligence, becomes also refined and ennobled by Christian faith and loyalty, the outcome must be a very unusual example of a nation whose God is the Lord, and whose destiny will bring new glory to mankind. Japanese patriotism, however, as yet lacks the refining fire; it can be made a far nobler, sweeter, and holier principle than it is. Patriotism plus Christianity is confessedly the ideal thing. If the patriot is not only a lover of his country, but a servant of God, his devotion is of a higher, safer, and more valuable type than any which is prompted by human enthusiasm, however intense. With a patriotic spirit such as Japan possesses as a basis, the addition of a religious element such as Christianity could give would result in a superb realization of national vitality and power, which might easily equal, if not surpass, anything we have ever witnessed in the history of the world.

The apparent capacity of the Japanese to develop a humanized society and a self-restrained army and navy in what must to a large extent be regarded as a non-Christian atmosphere is worthy of great respect. It is not easy, however, to determine precisely the extent to which Christianity may have been already a factor in molding modern Japan. Upon this point there would, no doubt, be a difference of opinion even among those who are best able to judge; some, especially among the Japanese, would, probably, be inclined to minimize it; others might be led to exalt unduly its influence. It is clear that there has been manifest for some time a great and growing respect for Christianity in Japan. Many of her prominent men are Christians, some of her non-Christian statesmen and leaders regard the Christian religion with favor, and seem ready to adopt its principles, especially its moral standards, as worthy not

only of respect but of support. Bishop McKim, of the Protestant Episcopal Mission, stated recently that the influence of Christianity in Japan was 100 per cent. greater than its statistical strength. It seems certain, therefore, that if Christianity should become a dominant power in Japan, we should see results which would attract world-wide attention and admiration. As a Christian nation the Japanese would be likely to set the pace for the hitherto laggard nations of Christendom, giving an example not only of the individualistic triumphs of Christianity, but of its national, civic, humanitarian, and social power to uplift mankind. It needs no prophet to discover in the light of present events that mighty unfoldings of history are pending in the Far East. Japan will not drift idly to her destiny; a strenuous nation is already panting for power and prestige. Her relations to China are yet unknown; a possible alliance—political and military—may bring problems which will not be easily solved. It may be justly counted already as an inestimable benefit to the world that the influence of missions, and thus of Christianity, is firmly, though as yet incompletely, established in both countries.

The single aspect of progress which we have now considered is only one of several which may well be studied by us all. God is manifestly working, secretly, mightily, and irresistibly, through His own chosen agency of missions, to hasten the preparation of the backward nations for great and majestic changes which are coming ere long in the whole international status of the world. The era of arbitration has dawned—this may be said, even though war now rages. In fact, the present desperate and bloody war may only hasten and confirm the movement. The interparliamentary relationship, or rather the international parliament, is no longer a dream; it is soberly discussed and ardently longed for by practical statesmen. In the prospect of such an international *rapprochement* and the possible establishment of a Parliament of Nations as one of the great achievements of the twentieth century, the services of missions seem to possess inestimable value. There never was a time when it was easier to believe the statement of Scripture that a nation shall be born in a day, and it was never more evident than at the present hour that there is no agency so effective in preparing nations for this birth into a higher life than the missionary forces now so busily at work throughout the earth. The great commission of the glorified King of all men means to mankind much more than we have faith to grasp; it will be, we must believe, a supreme factor in the making of a new earth.

New York City.

JAMES S. DENNIS.

VIII.

REVIEWS OF

RECENT LITERATURE.

I.—PHILOSOPHICAL LITERATURE.

PHILOSOPHY AS SCIENTIA SCIENTIARUM and A HISTORY OF CLASSIFICATIONS OF THE SCIENCES. By ROBERT FLINT, D.D., LL.D., F.R.S.E., Corresponding Member of the Institute of France; Honorary Member of the Royal Society of Palermo; and Professor (Emeritus) Edinburgh University. Imported by Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, 1904. Large 8vo; pp. x, 340. \$4.50 net.

In this volume Dr. Flint has given a brief but masterly presentation of what he believes to be the true relation between Philosophy and the Sciences (pp. 1 to 63), followed by a valuable historical sketch of similar attempts in the past. He maintains that Philosophy is the legitimate, although often the rejected and insulted, queen of the sciences. Such a queen they must have, although he quotes with approval Kant's lament: "Time was when metaphysics was the queen of all the sciences. But now it is the fashion to heap contempt and scorn upon her, and the matron mourns, forlorn and forsaken, like Hecuba." In support of his belief in this necessity, Dr. Flint's argument is fourfold: First, Philosophy may be viewed as simple science, bearing the same relation to the separate sciences that these separate sciences themselves bear to their own doctrines, respectively, and thus conditioning their collective unity, self-consistency and harmony; second, in order that the proper sphere of each special science may be correctly understood; third, in order that they may see how and where they may help each other; and fourth, in order to counteract the evils, both intellectual and moral, of specialism. These evils Dr. Flint regards as real and very great.

In seeking to realize this harmonizing and unifying function of Philosophy, four hard problems have to be reckoned with. First, it is necessary to form a right estimate of, and to take a right attitude toward, each special science. Philosophy must "combine them into a harmonious *cosmos* or well-proportioned *corpus*." This sounds quite Comtian, and Dr. Flint does not hesitate to say that Comte was wrong in what he denied rather than in what he affirmed. Philosophy has indeed a positivistic side, but it is a great error to affirm that it has no other; and here we recognize the same voice with which we are familiar in his former very valuable books, insisting that the scientist is the very man of all men who takes everything on trust. Second, Philosophy is bound to inquire into the nature of knowledge itself. This is where Kant comes in; he was right, but he was not wholly right. Third, Philosophy must elaborate an accordant theory of being and becoming; and this is her metaphysical function. In doing this she will encounter Nature, Mind and Deity, giving rise respectively to Ontology, Psychology and Theology, though not without very important modifications of the common connotations of these terms, especially of the last two. Fourth, Philosophy should forecast the course of things and determine the worth of Truth, Beauty, Virtue, Life,

et cetera. This is the practical side of Philosophy. Thus we see Philosophy to be Positive, Critical, Metaphysical and Practical.

Dr. Flint argues that there are three kinds of knowledge (p. 51), namely, ordinary, scientific and philosophic. We can agree with this only with the distinct understanding that these differences are not essentially epistemological; we like the author's word "stages" better than "kinds." The author's thought is that ordinary knowledge is common to all men, but is often extremely indistinct, confused and superficial. Scientific knowledge differs from it in the possession of precision and exactness, and philosophic knowledge in its possession of comprehensiveness and profundity. We may gather up the substance of Dr. Flint's whole scheme, after a fashion, when we say that he teaches that Philosophy deals (1) positively or phenomenologically, (2) critically or epistemologically, (3) metaphysically or theoretically, and (4) practically with (1) God, (2) the World, and (3) Self.

The historical survey of the whole science of philosophical methodology which the volume presents will be valuable for reference, to the student of related subjects. The author states very briefly the elements of the chief schematisms from Plato to the present, often accompanying the statement with a clear and instructive *critique* of the scheme presented. The author confesses that his work is meant only for a certain class of persons, and whether that class is large or small he does not profess to know. It is safe to say that it is not very large, but certainly, large or small, it will appreciate the work of this volume in mapping out the geographical outlines and relations in the vast tracts of human knowledge. The organizing principle, the *principium*, is of the very first importance, but it must be right and it must be comprehensive. True thought knows not a science only, not sciences only, but Science; and, as no one knows thoroughly and correctly any one State in the American Union who is ignorant either of its relation to all the other States or of its place in the larger whole of which it is a part, so no one knows any science thoroughly, nor can he know the sciences correctly, who has not in mind some organizing principle which unites them *e pluribus unum*. Philosophy is, as this book teaches, this principle; it is the *scientia scientiarum*.

Trenton.

HENRY COLLIN MINTON.

THE PSYCHOLOGICAL REVIEW. Edited by J. MARK BALDWIN, Johns Hopkins University, HOWARD C. WARREN, Princeton University, and CHARLES H. JUDD, Yale University. THE DIFFERENTIATION OF THE RELIGIOUS CONSCIOUSNESS. By IRVING KING, Ph.D., Instructor in Psychology, Pratt Institute. Pph., pp. 72. The MacMillan Company, 41 North Queen street, Lancaster, Pa., 66 Fifth avenue, New York. Agent: G. E. Stechert, London (2 Star Yard, Carey Street, W. C.); Leipzig (Hospital Street, 10); Paris (76 Rue de Rennes). January, 1905.

This paper, which was "accepted by the Faculty of Philosophy of the University of Chicago in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy," regards the religious attitude as "a specialized form of reaction," and aims to present the development of this attitude from the "primitive unspecialized type of reaction" whence it, along with other complex forms of experience, is assumed to proceed. The discussion is technical and elaborate. In the judgment of the reviewer, the result is insignificant and unsatisfying. "At its best religious emotion stands only for the organization of the values out of the experience of the individual, rather than for any superior illumination with reference to ultimate truth." "In so far as religion postulates extra-mental forms of illumination or of control, that is, that the relation of supernatural to the natural is the same as that between the members of a series, the states of consciousness which it selects tend to be those of the fringe." That is to say, the chief lesson to

be learned from the study of the development of the religious consciousness is that "the most prominent features of the religious consciousness are closely connected with the more or less automatic and subconscious aspect of the psycho-physical organism." In a word, religion is a matter of feeling merely, and of a low kind of feeling at that.

Princeton.

WILLIAM BRENTON GREENE, JR.

II.—APOLOGETICAL THEOLOGY.

AGREEMENT OF EVOLUTION AND CHRISTIANITY. By SAMUEL LOUIS PHILLIPS (A.B., Princeton), Author of *The Testimony of Reason*, etc. Washington, D. C.: The Phillips Company, 330 John Marshall Place, 1904. 8vo; pp. x, 202.

This essay argues in support of the substantial agreement between Evolution and Christianity, virtually by regarding Evolution as a category which embraces Christianity. Necessarily, such an argument presupposes or involves an interpretation of each of the terms to the agreement. The author's conception of both Evolution and Christianity is large and unusually free. He maintains that "the Christian religion is as evolutionary in its influence on the moral and incidentally on the physical and mental nature of man as the survival of the fittest and the transmission of acquired characteristics to progeny are on the physical nature of animals" (p. 5); accordingly, he would rank that religion as a *Science* just as much as physiology and mental philosophy.

The chief task of the author, thus laid out for himself, is to make good these interpretations. To be sure, it is true that Christianity is not unscientific in the substance of its teachings or in its placement or in its processes; but it is quite novel to regard it purely as a science, correlated with the other special sciences in the vast area of human knowledge. However, granted the author's initial conception, he has clear sailing. His argument is safe and sound, and his conclusion apparently indisputable. But we question whether either the conventional evolutionist or the conventional Christian religionist will consent to start out with him in his argument. We suspect that the former would have a longer parley and a stiffer resistance than the latter. If the author specializes Christianity too much, he generalizes Evolution more. As he conceives Evolution, it rests upon two basic principles, namely, that excellences are reached only from lower states of growth, and that this growth is always by effort. The author's spirit is reverent, his incidental representations of the internal contents of Christianity thoroughly evangelical, and the general impression which the argument leaves upon the reader's mind is wholesome and helpful. If he strains overmuch to bring all truth into evolution moulds (no strange fault in these days of evolution-madness), he nevertheless does not in the least blink the supremacy of Holy Scripture or wince at the reality of the Supernatural. He believes that he has shown that "Christianity is a Science, established by God to suit the exigencies of its field of operation, and is to be classed with all the other sciences and agencies he has ordained for the Evolution of His Creation" (p. 116).

Trenton.

HENRY COLLIN MINTON.

THE DYNAMIC OF CHRISTIANITY: A Study of the Vital and Permanent Element in the Christian Religion. By EDWARD MORTIMER CHAPMAN. Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin & Company; The Riverside Press, Cambridge: 1904. 8vo; pp. viii, 345.

This volume is another in the list, already an extended one, the object of which, for the most part, is to commend essential Christianity to "the modern view of

things." In this task the burden of the weight is here—as indeed in most cases—thrown upon the much-worked doctrine of the Divine Immanence. In the light of this illuminant many problems that once perplexed the thoughtful fade entirely out. The author doubts "the application of the Beatitude to those who cry 'Peace, Peace,' when there is no quarrel." In the course of this easy-going and elegant irenic many assumptions are incidental and many open questions are quietly regarded as closed. It is hard to believe that this book could have been written before the late Dr. Sabatier's posthumous volume appeared. In any case experience is highly exalted and dogma is deeply degraded. "The real dynamic of Christianity has once and again proven itself to be a thing springing so directly out of spiritual experience that everything else can be treated with relative contempt" (p. 181). The Cosmical Force pervading the universe is one with the Spirit of all Grace, and the difficult work of maintaining any sort of distinction between the two functions of this same Power, thus designated, is tacitly dismissed with the implicit assumption that such a distinction is very largely fictitious. "Yet, upon the whole, the history of the Christian Church would seem to show it to be under the influence of—perhaps it would be more exact to say the crude and imperfect instrument of—a Power which moves upon bodies of men as a will makes its presence felt upon subordinate wills—not disdaining their utterance of its behests because the behests are sometimes misunderstood and always inadequately interpreted, nor the service of their hands because the things the hands build are made of wood, hay and stubble, as well as of silver and gold" (p. 192).

The book is bright, fresh and well written; however, it sometimes puts the reader to wondering just what the writer means, as, for example, in the passage just quoted. As to its teaching, the book is open to the criticism which is applicable to most of its kind. It contracts the conceptions of religion in order to bring them within the hard-strained limits of scientific moulds. Conversion is subordinate to the category of evolution (p. 208, *et seq.*); the term "vicarious" is robbed of everything distinctively its own when it is said, "It is not irreverent to claim that wherever a man bears hardness for the sake of his fellow, the work of vicarious atonement appears in process" (p. 276); any Scriptural and indeed rational conception of sin is gone when it is said, "Sin is the permission (*sic*) of disorder in the life of the spiritual man" (pp. 267, 268), for then who indeed is so great a sinner as God Himself, who certainly "permits" it? The distinction between natural and supernatural is dismissed as obsolete and misleading; "so by degrees, as Christianity matures and bears fruit in a genuine faith in God as a Spirit, we shall see the old and long emphasized distinction between natural and supernatural fade away. . . . Christ's thought of God the Spirit as the vital divine Force in the world leading men into all truth implies that all God's processes are natural, inasmuch as Nature itself is but an inclusive expression for the sum of them" (pp. 296, 297). Inspiration did not cease with the Canon—a judgment arrived at deductively by the author, for he is able to announce, with somewhat of oracular certitude: "Inspiration is too subtle and pervasive a matter (*sic*) to be confined to one century or one group of men" (p. 312). Howbeit the author, not unmindful of his peril, is yet unwilling to be misunderstood, and so he shall speak for himself: "This is not to ascribe to *David Copperfield* the spiritual significance of the Epistle to the Galatians. But it is to advance the claim, and that upon the highest authority, that in so far as the modern master of fiction proved his possession of a special commission to proclaim the worth of peace and good-will to men, his inspiration is of the same fundamental nature as that which gave illumination and authority to St. Paul" (pp. 314, 315). As to authority, the author insists that "there is authority in the Bible, and very great authority" (p. 316); indeed, he concedes that the Bible is a "chief servant of Christianity," and then adds, by quotation from Sabatier, "But the servant need not be perfect; it suffices that

she be faithful." In locating the source of authority in religion, never objective but always subjective, the author does not escape the common misfortune of ending up with just no authority at all. We have enjoyed the book. It rewards the reader with many valuable suggestions. It says much that is true on the way to a conclusion which we believe to be both weak in itself and weakly supported by the author; but, really, we have failed to find here a single contribution which has not been put on paper by some one else who has managed to dip his pen in the self-same ink a little earlier in the morning.

Trenton.

HENRY COLLIN MINTON.

III.—EXEGETICAL THEOLOGY.

URSEMITISCHE RELIGION IM VOLKSLEBEN DES HEUTIGEN ORIENTS. Forschungen und Funde aus Syrien und Palästina von SAMUEL IVES CURTISS. Deutsche Ausgabe. Mit 57 Abbildungen und 2 Karten nebst einem Vorwort von WOLF WILHELM GRAFEN BAUDISSIN. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1903. Pp. xxx, 380.

This goodly volume embodies the ripened thought and culminating life-work of a cultured American scholar. The original edition in English was issued from the press in 1902, with the title *Primitive Semitic Religion To-day*. Its appearance in a German translation, and with an appreciative estimate by Graf Baudissin in a Prefatory Note, form a worthy crown to years of arduous labor unstintingly given to this one task. A mournful interest attaches to the version in that, with the exception of a paper or two written by him for the Congress of Orientalists, it is the last service to scholarship rendered by the lamented author. He died in London on September 22, 1904, on his return from Palestine, which he had visited for the fourth time in search of further information on his chosen theme.

The material which Prof. Curtiss subjected to scrutiny is manifold, and of course it differs in worth. In Prof. Baudissin's judgment, the most valuable part of the work is the record and investigation of those religious customs of the present inhabitants which are known to be of ancient origin from inherent traits or because they are referred to in the Old Testament and other Semitic literature. The Mohammedan and Christian accretions can be readily separated; and when these foreign elements have been removed, it is reasonable to believe that the remainder is the survival of primitive practice. But the matter is not so simple, the friendly introducer of the German translation thinks, when the investigation concerns conceptions of God and divine things which do not spring immediately out of these definite customs. Here the result is less trustworthy; for not every idea of God and His ways that is neither distinctly Christian nor Mohammedan can on that account be regarded as primitive Semitic thought.

Princeton, N. J.

JOHN D. DAVIS.

A CONCISE DICTIONARY OF THE ASSYRIAN LANGUAGE (Assyrian-English-German).

By W. MUSS-ARNOLD. Berlin: Reuther & Reichard; London: Williams & Norgate; New York: Lemcke & Büchner. Parts 14 to 16. 1905.

These three installments add 192 pages to the advancing work, bringing the total number up to 1024, and carrying the definitions through the word *šatru*. Evidently two more fascicles will be required to complete the alphabet; and perhaps an additional one containing an appendix, for not a few new vocables and meanings have come to light while the Dictionary has been in course of publication.

It will be noticed that each of these parts bears the date of 1905. They appeared within two months after the year opened; and yet a glance at the pages reveals that the author has incorporated in these pages the lexicographical discussions and discoveries of the preceding twelve months. He has, as would be expected and demanded, examined the papers presented during that year to such learned bodies as the Victoria Institute, the Society of Biblical Archaeology, the American Oriental Society, the Deutsche Morgenländische Gesellschaft; he has culled from such technical journals of 1904 as the *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, *Recueil des Travaux*, *American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literature*; and he has gathered the material from more formal books of the year, such as Harper's *Code of Hammurabi* and Nielsen's *Altarabische Mondreligion*. But the range of the literature laid under contribution is much wider. Articles of recent years in *The Independent*, *New World*, *Expository Times*, *Zeitgeist*, *Theologische Literaturzeitung* have not escaped his searching eye. The work is up to date.

Princeton.

JOHN D. DAVIS.

BIBLISCHE ZEITSCHRIFT IN VERBINDUNG MIT DER REDAKTION DER BIBLISCHEN STUDIEN herausgegeben von Dr. JOH. GÖTTESBERGER und Dr. JOS. EICKENBERGER, Professoren an der Universität München. Zweiter Jahrgang. Freiburg im Breisgau: Herdersche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1904 (B. Herder, 17 South Broadway, St. Louis, Mo.). Per year \$3.50.

This is a periodical published by Roman Catholic scholars. It was founded in 1902 to take its place by the side of the *Biblische Studien*, edited by Dr. Bardenhewer, and favorably known by its scholarly researches, especially in the field of Patristics. The *Biblische Studien* are not a theological review properly speaking, inasmuch as each number consists of a single treatise complete in itself. The present publication brings briefer articles and book reviews. It is conducted in the interest of the "Catholic" faith, in response to the papal encyclica of 1895, which called attention to the importance and fruitfulness of Bible-study for all branches of theological learning. This positive purpose, however, in no wise interferes with the scholarly character of the articles published. The contributors, on the whole, show themselves well acquainted with the trend of modern discussion, and, as a rule, also know where the strategic positions lie from a theological standpoint. It is especially refreshing to find a scholarly review in which the opposition to modern rationalistic criticism is not a matter of difference in degree but a matter of dissent in principle. Another feature that calls for favorable comment is the cosmopolitan make-up of the staff of contributors. Austria, Germany, France are represented in the four installments of the year 1904. We have looked in vain for the name of an American contributor. Besides more extended book reviews, there is appended to each number a fairly complete list of bibliographical notices, dealing in a few words of orientation with the more important publications in the several fields of theology. This seems to us a much more valuable method than that of the usual barren bibliographies, which give nothing but titles and do not enable the reader to distinguish the wheat from the chaff.

Princeton.

GEERHARDUS VOS.

THE BIBLE: ITS STRUCTURE AND PURPOSE. By JOHN URQUHART. With an Introduction by ARTHUR T. PIERSON, D.D. Volume I, pp. 251. New York: Gospel Publishing House, 1904.

This volume is the first of what is apparently intended to be an extensive apologetic, analytic and interpretative work on the entire Scriptures. Indeed, we understand that the second volume has already been issued, and the author's plan is steadily advancing toward accomplishment.

The work is written for mature and intelligent readers, but is by no means intended primarily for Biblical scholars. Its tone is quite popular, and the author's style is certainly vivacious enough to encourage his readers to continue to the end. With the ultimate purpose of exhibiting by detailed analysis the unity and symmetry of the Bible as a planned book, Mr. Urquhart begins by a survey of the present state of critical opinion; discusses secondly the topics of canon and text; and finally asks and answers the theological question, Why has God given us the Bible? This preliminary material occupies the bulk of the first volume, leaving only a few pages for the actual beginning of what is to fill the succeeding volumes. From the little here given, however, it is evident that the work is to traverse familiar ground over a new path. It will be neither an introductory nor an expository work, in the ordinary acceptation of those terms, but will possess characteristics of both sorts, every question being debated from the apologetic standpoint.

The writer's standpoint is strictly conservative. His chief complaint against current criticism is that it mangles a vital organism. His effort to defend the Bible's representation of its own origin by developing the rationality of its structure and purpose, is in harmony with the broader methods of the present apologetics as compared with those of the past, and it is to be commended, as far as this first volume entitles the reader to pass judgment.

Princeton.

J. OSCAR BOYD.

BIBLICAL CRITICISM. A Brief Discussion of Its History, Principles and Methods.

By JOHN A. W. HAAS, D.D. With an Introduction by HENRY E. JACOBS, D.D., LL.D. Philadelphia: General Council Lutheran Publication House, 1903. Pp. xxxi, 233.

Dr. Haas has done a real service to the Church in publishing thus in permanent form the lectures delivered at the Lutheran Seminary of Philadelphia a few years since. The book, though brief, is remarkable for its broad outlook upon this exhaustless field of discussion. It embraces within its scope New Testament as well as Old, past as well as present movements and leaders, both the "lower" and the "higher" criticism. It gives evidence of wide reading, as a glance at the indices proves; and the author's balance of judgment and firmness of anchorage in the midst of all his variety of subject-matter show something more than the omnivorous reader. He sees beneath the surface of changing opinions, he estimates the permanence and the absoluteness of critical "results," he correlates and contrasts the forces at work in different parts, at different times, and with different tools, upon the essentially single task of Biblical criticism. As an active pastor of a great metropolitan church, and as an appreciative student of extra-Biblical literature, he has approached and achieved his task with a freshness that happily relieves the weight of a style often too German. The book is anything but dull. It is moderate in tone without being compromising in spirit. It appreciates without consenting, and opposes without antagonizing. It is throughout a sane, conservative, suggestive guide to those who are perplexed by their ignorance or mistrust of the principles and methods of Biblical critics.

Princeton.

J. OSCAR BOYD.

ST. PAUL'S CONCEPTIONS OF THE LAST THINGS. By the Rev. H. A. A. KENNEDY, M.A., D.Sc. New York: A. C. Armstrong & Son, 1904. 8vo; pp. xx, 370. (The Cunningham Lectures for 1904.)

In choosing for the subject of his Cunningham Lectures "St. Paul's Conceptions of the Last Things," the author of this work has endeavored to supply a real need. Even in German theological literature, where monographs on the various aspects

of Pauline teaching are most abundant, it can hardly be said that a satisfactory discussion of the topic exists. Kabisch's book is too one-sidedly physical in its interpretation of the apostle's fundamental conceptions, and the smaller treatise of Teichmann, besides confining itself to the Resurrection and the Judgment, is too much dominated by the idea of development in St. Paul's eschatological thought to give a fair presentation of the facts. In English, the book of Charles, taking in the whole field of Old and New Testament eschatology, by reason of its comprehensiveness, offers no more than a brief and sketchy outline of the apostle's positions. But Dr. Kennedy not only has prepared a timely book, he has also prepared what may, on the whole, be called a good book. We do not mean by this that there are not in his discussion several points, some of them important, in regard to which we feel bound to differ from the conclusions reached. To some extent even the basis on which the discussion is carried on evokes dissent. We are made to feel that the author does not share our belief in the inspiration of the apostle to the extent of regarding him an infallible teacher. Thus we are told that "the inspiration of the apostle is an equipment of the Spirit for the work he has immediately to do," and in the same connection that "one of the fundamental truths of God's operation in history is a gradual change in the mental perspective of nations and individuals" (pp. 27-28). We are asked to admit "the possibility of very considerable variation as to details in the apostle's conceptions at different times, for the simple reason that neither in Judaism nor in primitive Christian circles does there seem to have been any rigid eschatological system" (p. 163). On the other hand, while holding this laxer view of inspiration in the abstract, and professing readiness, if need be, to draw, or at least not *a priori* to reject, its consequences, the author, it must be said to his credit, makes a very restrained and discreet use of the liberty he thus vindicates for himself. He does not delight, as so many modern writers do, in involving the apostle in the greatest possible number of inconsistencies. In most cases he finds that the contradictions do not in reality exist. Illustrative of this attitude is his manner of dealing with the assertion that the doctrine of universal judgment was simply a portion of the popular religious consciousness of the time which the apostle had retained, without endeavoring to adjust it to his profounder and more spiritual conceptions. First, we are reminded that "this is a supposition which even the soberest and most restrained Christian thought ought not to reject *a priori*," because "the very highest endowment of a human soul with the Divine Spirit can never turn the consciousness into an isolated automaton." We are almost immediately reassured, however, on learning that "in St. Paul's case, as in that of all the New Testament writers, we must be content to form our estimate of his conceptions solely from the evidence which we possess" (p. 277). The only instance where the danger of the toned-down theory of inspiration shows itself in concrete form is found in the remarks of p. 280, to the effect that the imprisonment epistles represent a vaguer and more simplified outlook into the future than the earlier epistles, an outlook summed up in the simple term *ἐλπίς*. It is suggested that Paul, "as he sought to fathom the treasures of wisdom and knowledge which were hidden in Christ, felt less confidence even in the prophetic forecasts which had been a stable element in his eschatological thought. Perhaps he grew more and more to distrust the use of earthly imagery and pictures drawn from human experience to body forth the circumstances of a life belonging to another order." When on the basis of this the question is put, "Will not the Christian Church act wisely in following the example of her great spiritual teacher?" we cannot help feeling that the injunction must fail to move the reader, because the example of a teacher who loses confidence in his own previous teaching is apt to lose its constraining power.

The author nowhere makes an explicit avowal of his attitude with reference to the genuineness of the epistles. It appears, however, that he recognizes not merely the imprisonment epistles but also 2 Thessalonians as genuine. Only the

data from the pastoral epistles are conspicuously absent from his discussion. This might seem to indicate that there was doubt in his mind if not as to the genuineness of these documents, at least as to the advisability of introducing their statements as Pauline in the present state of the controversy. The latter objection, however, would seem to bear equally much against the inclusion of 2 Thessalonians in the sphere of investigation.

The book is divided into six chapters dealing successively with "The Place of Eschatology in St. Paul's Religious Thought," "Formative Influences in St. Paul's Conceptions of the Last Things," "St. Paul's Conception of Life and Death," "St. Paul's Conceptions of the Parousia and the Judgment," "St. Paul's Conception of the Resurrection," "St. Paul's Conception of the Consummation of the Kingdom of God." At the close of the book an additional note is added to chapter ii on "The Pauline Eschatology and Hellenism." The first chapter well brings out the dominating place eschatology occupies in the apostle's view of salvation. We believe the matter could have been even more strongly put than the author puts it. The question is not so much whether the doctrines of justification and possession of the Spirit and union with Christ carry with themselves an outlook into the future, but rather whether those acts and states to which these doctrines refer are not from the outset eschatological acts and states, or, more strictly speaking, anticipations in this life of what had previously been regarded as reserved for the end. Only by realizing the extent to which this is true can we appreciate the profound eschatological interest that pervades all Paul's teaching. Especially in connection with the *pneuma* conception this might have been more strongly emphasized. The Spirit is from the beginning to Paul the element of the eschatological, heavenly world. We note with satisfaction the disavowal of Johannes Weiss' position, that the element of Christ-mysticism is an uneschatological or anti-eschatological factor in Paul's religious consciousness. The very opposite is true: it is a piece of the most pronounced eschatological interpretation of Christianity. We are not quite prepared to follow the author in his repeated assertion that there is no unified eschatological scheme in St. Paul's epistles. He appeals to this unsystematic character against the modern schemes of development attributed to Paul. In our opinion, a reliance on more detailed and penetrating exegesis of the crucial passages would have proved equally effective for disposing of this modern notion, and would have resulted in bringing out the essential harmony of all Pauline deliverances on the subject. We may be allowed to appeal in this connection to the opinion of Wernle, who, as a rule, is sufficiently emphatic in affirming the unsystematic, missionary character of the apostle's teaching, and yet believes that Paul's eschatology represents a simple, consistent system in comparison with previous Judaistic eschatological speculation. On the other hand, the author places due emphasis on the sobriety of Pauline and New Testament eschatology in general as over against the Jewish, apocalyptic mode of treating the subject. Excellent also is what is said in the second chapter about the indebtedness of Paul to the Old Testament and to Jesus in this line of teaching, and about the difference between him and Judaism in the spirit which animates their respective eschatologies (p. 44). Not much weight is attached to the hypothesis of Persian influence as an important formative factor in the later Jewish eschatology, although all through the book the parallels from Mazdeism are quoted, largely from Söderblom. The author also takes what we believe to be the correct position in regard to our Lord's great eschatological discourse, with reference to which he denies the necessity of assuming that a later Jewish apocalypse is welded together with the genuine words of Jesus. In chapter iii the discussion of the Pauline notion of death is more illuminating and satisfactory than that of life. Perhaps this is due to the author's disinclination to distinguish closely between the several aspects of that which Paul calls life. Granted that the idea was to the apostle a synthetic one, and that he has nowhere

analyzed it for us into its several elements or aspects, the fact still remains that the points of view from which he regards it in various connections are distinct, and to reconstruct these points of view must be helpful to our understanding of Paul's own mind on the matter. Especially the distinction between life as a *bonum* objectively inherited and life as a state or energy subjectively possessed or exercised, and the flowing together of these two ideas, we should have liked to find discussed more pointedly and at greater length. The chapter on the Parousia and Judgment does not call for particular comment, except in so far as the author ascribes to the apostle the view that "the man of sin" of 2 Thess. ii would be the false Jewish Messiah. We are, of course, aware that this is a widespread hypothesis which has gained considerable vogue through its advocacy by Weiss, Bousset and others; nevertheless the to our mind very serious objection, that a Jewish pseudo-Messiah could not be expected "to oppose and exalt himself against all that is called God, or that is worshiped, so that he sitteth in the temple of God, setting himself forth as God," ought to have been weighed and, if possible, removed. The discussion of the resurrection is, on the whole, luminous and convincing. We doubt whether the expression *ἰδίον σῶμα* in 1 Cor. xv. 30 warrants the inference that "each renewed spiritual nature will possess its distinct and characteristic *σῶμα πνευματικόν*. All that the words imply is that the resurrection body, generally considered, will have its own specific difference. We also must dissent from the exegesis which makes Paul affirm that the *σῶμα ψυχικόν* of ver. 44 is of necessity characterized by "corruption, dishonor, weakness." From ver. 45 it appears that the apostle identified this "psychical body" with the body given the first Adam at creation, which cannot have been a body of corruption, dishonor and weakness, since elsewhere he plainly teaches that these attributes are the result of sin. Undoubtedly the juxtaposition of these other predicates and *ψυχικόν* creates somewhat of a problem, but it is better to state the problem clearly and leave it unsolved, than to solve it in a way which brings the apostle into conflict with himself. We find ourselves more fully in accord with the writer in his exegesis of the difficult passage 2 Cor. v. 1-10. His main contention that Paul does not speak here of a resurrection body to be received at death, but as the parousia, we unqualifiedly accept. At the same time we believe that a more minute exegesis of the passage would have resulted in expressing, far more effectually than Dr. Kennedy does, the utter untenableness of the modern exegesis. The author also follows the advocates of this modern view in his interpretation of *ἐνδυσάμενοι* in ver. 3 as equivalent to *ἐπενδυσάμενοι*, which in view of the context (ver. 4) seems to us impossible. We also feel bound to disagree when he assumes that in vers. 6-8 Paul overleaps the interval between death and the parousia, as he does in ver. 1. In our opinion, "to be absent from the body" and "to be at home with the Lord" refer distinctly to the as yet unclothed state of the believer, who has died, previous to the parousia. Paul here states the ground of his being always of good courage, but he states it, of course, in the form which corresponds to the minimum of his expectation; this was unavoidable since, according to ver. 4, he was in doubt as to whether he would receive the maximum of "being clothed upon" at the parousia, or the minimum of having to wait for the parousia during an interval of nakedness after death. A question which it might have been of some interest to discuss is whether the preparation of the resurrection body begins, according to Paul, during this life or not. In his exegesis of 2 Cor. iii. 18, iv. 16 the author shows that the latter is his opinion, and we believe this to be correct, but the point might have been explicitly raised. This and other similar instances of omission to state sharply certain controversial questions of detail are probably due to the lecture-form of the discussion, and to the author's desire to keep the large aspects of the subject before his readers. It gives us pleasure to say that the concluding chapter on the consummation of the Kingdom of God is eminently cogent in its rejection of the theories of a second probation or

of the temporary duration of the punishment of the wicked, and of the premillennial advent of Christ. The expression on p. 294 that the apostle expects for believers "a real assimilation to Christ's divine nature" we consider infelicitous. It is certainly not provable from Phil. iii. 21, unless we assume that the body of the exalted Christ formed in the apostle's view part of Christ's divine nature. On p. 324 the subject of Col. ii. 16 is through an oversight represented as Christ, whereas it is God. The appended note on the Pauline Eschatology and Hellenism is too brief and cursory to deal satisfactorily with such a difficult and widely ramified question. The Pauline notion of *σάρξ* in its antithesis to *πνεῦμα* involves a problem which, if it be solvable at all, will certainly require more thorough treatment than the author is able to afford it in these few concluding pages.

Princeton.

GEERHARDUS VOS.

DER SOHN UND DIE SÖHNE. Eine exegetische Studie zu Hebräer ii. 5-18 von Lic. Dr. JULIUS KÖGEL. Gütersloh: Druck und Verlag von C. Bertelsmann. (Beiträge zur Förderung Christlicher Theologie. Herausgegeben von Dr. A. Schlatter und Dr. W. Lütgert. Achter Jahrgang, 1904. 5. u. 6. Heft.) 8vo; pp. 141.

This is a most interesting and instructive exposition of an exceedingly difficult passage from the Epistle to the Hebrews. It forms the first installment of a series of similar expositions on other parts of the Epistle to be published, we infer, in the same periodical. Dr. Kögel's licentiate's dissertation published in 1899 had for its subject "The Hidden Character of Jesus as the Messiah the Problem of the Epistle to the Hebrews." In this he endeavored to show that the danger to which the readers were exposed and which the writer seeks to meet sprang from their religious externalism. They found fault both with the lowly form of Jesus' life on earth and with the invisible mode of His later existence in heaven, because both lacked the external, palpable glory for which they craved in the Messiahship and for themselves. Hence the two main points which the author elucidates in the epistle are the reasonableness of Jesus' humiliation, suffering and death, and the reasonableness of His invisible, spiritual mode of activity in heaven. The former he does chiefly in the second chapter, the latter in the subsequent discussion of the high-priestly office of Christ. It will be perceived that, according to this view, the doctrine of the highpriesthood of Christ and of His sacrifice are not dealt with on account of any direct relation in which the readers stood to the Old Testament form of religion, but only because they offered the writer a suitable point of vantage to counteract the externalistic tendency of the readers and to open their eyes to the spiritual glories of the Christian religion. Of course it is not excluded that the Hebrews may have been Christians from the Jews; perhaps even their externalism may have had something to do with their nationality and religious antecedents. In fact Dr. Kögel, over against modern proposals to make the readers Gentile Christians, adheres to the old view that they were largely Christian from the Jews. Only he does not base this conviction on the prominence which the ritual conceptions of priesthood and sacrifice obtain in the epistle, but on other grounds. Dr. Kögel's proposal to find in the externalism of the readers the key to the understanding of the epistle as a whole is not altogether new. Its main principle is found already in Riehm's well-known work. But here it was still coupled with the old view that the externalism assumed the specific form of reliance on the sacrificial cult, still in existence at the time of writing, because this satisfied their craving for something they could see and feel. As already stated, Dr. Kögel entirely dispenses with this, and besides this, both in the thoroughness and in the originality with which the principle is carried out, his dissertation is far in advance of the position of Riehm.

So far as chap. ii. 5-18 are concerned, we are prepared to admit that the author

has succeeded in making his view highly plausible. The main test lies in the light it throws on the exegesis, both as to connection of thought and as to details of expression. There can be no doubt that the writer of the epistle here deals with people who took offense at the humiliation, the suffering, the death of Jesus during His earthly life and seeks to remove the offense by proving the reasonableness of these facts. He shows, on the one hand, that for Jesus the humiliation He underwent was the ground of His glory, and, on the other hand, that the reason for thus attaining to glory lay in the identification between Him and mankind, which identification finds its most profound and succinct expression in this, that as He is the Son so they are destined to become the sons of God. This unity, in view of the actual condition of mankind subject to misery and death, entails for the Saviour participation in the same experiences. Dr. Kögel convincingly shows how this idea of identification between Christ and man requires us to assume that the author understands and applies the quotation from the eighth Psalm in vers. 6-8 generically and not with exclusive reference to the Messianic "Son of Man." Only thus the word of the Psalmist furnishes the keynote to the subsequent demonstration that in Jesus the human race has reached its destiny of lordship over the world to come. A more satisfactory discussion of this mooted point we do not remember having seen anywhere. We are not prepared, however, to give the same full assent when Dr. Kögel further assumes that in the contrast between the natural weakness and insignificance of man and his exalted destiny as drawn by the Psalmist, the author of Hebrews found a sort of prefiguration of the contrast between the two stages of humiliation and glory in Christ's Messianic career, and that by this understanding of the Psalm he was partly justified in giving the words *βοαὶ ἔτι*, where they are applied to Christ in ver. 9, the temporal sense of "a little while." In our opinion, the author of Hebrews emphasizes the smallness of man by nature in order to bring out the marvelousness of the fact that to such a small creature has been given the lordship over the universe. In harmony with this we would also understand the *γάβ* of ver. 5 in dependence upon the "so great salvation" of ver. 3, while Dr. Kögel thinks that it serves to introduce the proof of the reality of the proposition "God has spoken in a Son." There are other points of detailed exegesis in which we differ from the author's conclusions. The emphasis placed on *ἐπὶ πάντας*, ver. 9, in the sense of an absolutely unqualified universalism of the atonement, we think beside the scope and intent of the passage. In our view the point of the quotation from Isaiah viii in the thirteenth verse is that the Saviour exercises trust in God as believers do and is thus identified with them, not that He exercises trust *for their benefit* and thus identifies Himself with them. Of the latter the words quoted say nothing, and this thought was clearly enough expressed in the quotation preceding and that following. That "the power of the devil" is a power exercised in the state of death and not merely through the indirect or direct infliction of death, and that the "fear of death" which Christ has removed relates to the future state, not to the momentary experience of dying, might have been more clearly stated. Excellent, however, is the observation that to the writer's mind this bondage to Satan forms the opposite of the lordship for which man was originally destined and that this explains the introduction of the reference to Satan, whereas otherwise only the deliverance from death might have been mentioned. Over the construction of the words in ver. 18 we would not seriously dispute with the writer, but we think it worth while to maintain that the verse speaks not of Jesus' temptations as a source of suffering, as Dr. Kögel implies, but of His sufferings as a source of temptation. Most of these, however, are minor points, which in no wise interfere with the convincing character of the discussion as regards its main thesis. We are all the more grateful for Dr. Kögel's discussion of the theme of the identification between "the Son and the sons," because it steers clear of the error into which Westcott and others have fallen through emphasizing the same

thought, viz., that the Messianic Sonship and the incarnation are independent of sin and redemption. In an appendix the author discusses at some length the two rival readings *χάριτι θεοῦ* and *χωρὶς θεοῦ* in ver. 9, deciding in favor of the former. We note in conclusion that in a just published collection of *Theologische Studien Martin Kähler dargebracht*, Dr. Kögel contributes a study on "the conception of *τελειοῦν* in the Epistle to the Hebrews, in connection with its New Testament usage."

Princeton.

GEERHARDUS VOS.

THE TEACHING OF JESUS. By the Rev. D. M. Ross, D.D. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1904. Imported by Charles Scribner's Sons, New York. Pp. 212.

In this latest volume of the excellent "Handbook Series," edited by Drs. Dods and Whyte, we have a fresh and illuminating *résumé* of the teaching of Jesus. The author is cautious in his examination of the evidence—too cautious, indeed, sometimes, as when he fails to find that our Lord gave any specific direction regarding the Supper—yet in his use of such facts as he finds attested he is wise and helpful. It is refreshing to find, though he professes to base his work on the first three Gospels, that he yet believes firmly in the Johannine authorship of the fourth, and accepts as essentially trustworthy the account therein given of the Teaching. "Granted that the apostle was in the habit of imparting his personal reminiscences to the Christian communities of the district in which his later years were spent, it was natural that they should at some time or other have been committed to writing" (p. 42). This chapter on the sources is a very satisfactory presentation of the case.

The point of departure for Dr. Ross in Jesus' teaching is His revelation of the Fatherhood of God. "There is no understanding of His conception of His own mission unless we give a foremost place to His 'new vision of God'" (p. 69, cf. p. 76). He does not overlook the Old Testament teaching on the Fatherhood, but he says there the emphasis was laid on His sovereignty. This conception is taken over into the new teaching. The two are not mutually exclusive, but "the sovereignty of God is transfigured by the love wherewith God is inspired to use the resources of His power for the good of His children" (p. 77).

Viewed in this light the characteristic virtues taught by Christ—humility, penitence, trustfulness, optimism, aspiration, prayer—become in the author's phraseology "filial tempers" rather than duties (chap. vi, sp., p. 84).

This new vision of God as Father also raises man to a new level. As a child of God he assumes new worth. "Man is dear to his Father in Heaven" (p. 92). In His estimate of childhood, in His parables of the lost sheep, etc., Jesus shows His faith in the lost children of His Father (chap. vii).

In the domain of ethics Jesus taught ideals, not statutes. His emphasis is not on conformity but on the inner life of the heart (chap. viii).

The chapter on the kingdom is brief, perhaps too brief, but shows careful study. Proper ground is taken on the vexed question as to whether the kingdom is a present or a future good, the author disregarding neither of these aspects. He rightly emphasizes the inwardness of the kingdom (with a questionable interpretation of *ἐντὸς ὑμῶν* in Luke xvii. 21, *among you* being the safer translation). He properly calls attention to the universality of the kingdom, and he believes in the genuineness of both passages in which Jesus spoke of the Church. Conclusions all which are helpful if not necessary to an appreciation of the kingdom teaching.

Chapter x deals with Christ's teaching about Himself. Here again we find our author exhibiting clearness in vision and fearlessness in statement. He makes no attempt to evade the meaning of the expression "Son of God" as used by Jesus. "Christ claims for Himself that He is Son of God as no other is." "His

consciousness of His unique Sonship is the consciousness of unique nearness to God, unique knowledge of God, unique love of God, unique obedience to the will of God, and unique vocation to reveal the mind and heart of God" (p. 152). *Unique* means the only one of its *kind*. Surely Dr. Ross could state in no clearer terms his conviction of Jesus' belief in His own Deity.

And again, "This story (Jesus in the temple at twelve years) is but one of many finger-posts pointing us to an altogether unique spiritual experience, out of which Christ speaks to us of God and the things of God with a supreme authority and power" (p. 64).

We may not be able to go with the author in his attempt to understand by psychology the growth of the Messianic consciousness, but we agree with him *wholly* on the mooted point that at the outset of His ministry Jesus knew Himself to be the Messiah and claimed it.

"The only sense in which it can be contended that Jesus did not claim to be Messiah is this, that He claimed to be more than it had yet entered into any one's heart to conceive of Messiah" (p. 156).

When Dr. Ross comes to discuss the place of the death of Christ in His teaching, he fails, we believe, to give due emphasis to this important subject. Surely Christ's view of the significance of His own death deserved a separate chapter!

We miss, also, any reference to the teaching concerning the Holy Spirit. This is due, no doubt, to the fact that the book is professedly based on the Synoptic Gospels. But enough might have been found even in them, illustrated by the fourth Gospel, to show Jesus' teaching about the new era of the Spirit's power, without which the *effect* of the teaching of Jesus on the disciples and on the world is inexplicable.

Chicago Theological Seminary.

L. B. CRANE.

THE WISDOM OF JAMES THE JUST. By the Right Rev. W. BOYD CARPENTER, D.D. New York: Thos. Whittaker, 1903. Pp. xix, 253.

This is a popular exposition of the Epistle of James. Following the text of the Epistle according to the English Revision is a commentary in sixteen chapters. The first four deal with matters of introduction—author, point of view, readers, etc.—while the others are occupied with pertinent comment. The book is for readers who have no Greek, but is based upon close study of the original, and will repay careful examination. The writer has gone to his work with much enthusiasm, and has succeeded in mediating the thoughts of his author to a present-day audience. This sort of work is distinctly worth while, and we hope for Bishop Carpenter's little book the success it deserves.

Chicago Theological Seminary.

L. B. CRANE.

DAS NEUE TESTAMENT NACH D. MARTIN LUTHERS BERICHTIGTER UEBERSETZUNG MIT FORTLAUFENDER ERLÄUTERUNG VERSEHEN. Von D. BERNHARD WEISS. Erste Hälfte: Evangelien und Apostelgeschichte. Zweite Hälfte: Briefe und Offenbarung Johannis. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1904. Preis jeder Hälfte 5 mk.; in Leinwand 6 mk. 8vo; pp. xx, 566 and 545.

"It seemed," says the venerable author in his Preface, "to be my duty, at the conclusion of my more than fifty years' work on the New Testament, to make the results as widely accessible as possible." This practical aim determines the character of the present volumes in more than one respect. The learned author studiously avoids addressing himself exclusively to the specialists in his department, or even to the theological world as a whole, but seeks to reach that larger class of readers who, unacquainted with Greek or with scientific exegesis, wish to nourish their spiritual life "by the inexhaustible wealth of thoughts and experi-

ences" treasured in the New Testament. The very style of the author bears witness, by its unwonted simplicity and directness, to his governing desire of ministering to the needs of the largest number possible. The price, too,—ten marks for over eleven hundred pages of excellent presswork,—will do its part to help secure for the publication a due share of popularity. We heartily congratulate the indefatigable author on the happy completion of his noble task.

In an introductory chapter of eighteen pages Prof. Weiss reproduces his conservatively mediating views on the "Origin of the New Testament." The method employed in carrying out the main purpose of the work is to divide the German text into appropriate topical or at least closely connected sections, and to accompany these with a goodly amount of explanatory comment. These notes are uniformly in smaller type; the main theme of each division is indicated by italicizing the key-words of the passage; and the discussion is everywhere so directly related to the text that the reader need only let his eye glance along the marginal numerals to find the remarks upon any chosen verse. The "Erläuterungen" are concise, straightforward, delightfully suggestive and illuminating, warmly sympathetic, making no parade of learning, yet showing everywhere the ripe scholarship of an experienced exegete, and withal so skillfully organized under the leading idea of the section as to make a thoroughly readable paragraph. All purely academic questions are passed over in silence. Only the unavoidable matters of textual criticism are explicitly set forth, such as the spurious passages Mark xvi. 9-20, John vii. 53-viii. 11, 1 John v. 7. It is needless to say that for the more radical critics Weiss' text in this German translation, just as in his recently published Greek New Testament, is not sufficiently reduced in size to be thoroughly up-to-date. But all such criticism of this work is forestalled in the Preface, where the reader is directed for information and further argument to the many other treatises of the author. The value of the notes is greatly increased by the references to other Scriptures. Indeed, for our part we should have welcomed even a more liberal use of this device.

The translation is likewise a most admirable one. It is fully as accurate as Weizsäcker's celebrated version, and therefore far superior to the ultra-conservative revision of Luther's work in the official "*Probibibel*" of 1883. How much Luther's practically pioneer labors in this field stood in need of correction may be seen at a glance by comparing his rendering, say, of Rom. iii with that here given by Weiss. Not to refer to matters for which the natural development of the German language may in whole or in part account, we may call attention to those more important differences that are due to Weiss' better rendering of the original text. Thus Weiss translates "des Juden" for Luther's "die Juden" (ver. 1); "dass Gott wahrhaftig ist" for "dass Gott wahrhaftig sei" (ver. 4); "Auf dass du gerechtfertigt werdest" for "Auf dass du gerecht seiest" (ver. 4); "warum werde ich . . . gerichtet" for "warum sollte ich . . . gerichtet werden" (ver. 7); "ist offenbaret worden" for "ist offenbaret" (ver. 21); "die Gerechtigkeit, die von Gott kommt" for "die Gerechtigkeit, die vor Gott gilt" (ver. 21); "solche Gottesgerechtigkeit" for "solcher Gerechtigkeit vor Gott" (ver. 22); "da sie gerechtfertigt werden ohne Verdienst durch seine Gnade" for "werden ohne Verdienst gerecht aus seiner Gnade" (ver. 24); "behufs Erweisung seiner Gerechtigkeit" for "damit er die Gerechtigkeit, die vor ihm gilt, darbiete" (ver. 25); "das Rühmen" for "der Ruhm" (ver. 27); and again, "gerechtfertigt werde" for "gerecht werde" (ver. 28). Of special importance in this last verse is the well-known insertion by Luther of the word "allein" in the clause "allein durch den Glauben." Even the *Probibibel* retained the much-discussed adverb, and there are still German linguistic authorities who, with no special predilection for solifidianism, insist that the genius of their vernacular requires the insertion of this word. But if here, why not equally in Gal. ii. 16? Weiss is clearly justified in rejecting this unwarranted interpolation.

On the whole, we are inclined to find fault with the translation because of its undue regard for the Lutheran original. Why, for example, should such an obsolete word as "sintemal" be so freely retained? Not seldom the somewhat too conservative spirit of the reviser has led him to perpetuate inaccuracies, as in Rom. iii. 23, where with Luther he translates an aorist as though it were a present, or in 1 Thess. iv. 17, where the force of the adverbial *καί* is not properly given. The retention of such terms as "Groschen" for *δραχμή*, "Hauptmann" for *ἐκατοντάρχης*, and "Pfennig" for *ἀσάριον* is, perhaps, more easily to be justified. On the other hand, the author has occasionally, for the sake of fidelity to the original, made his rendering unnecessarily clumsy. This is especially the case in all those passages in the narrative portions of the Gospel where the Greek presents sudden changes of tense, but where Luther quite uniformly, and our own Authorized and Revised Versions at least occasionally, preferred to conform the time of one verb to that of another in the immediate context, as in Mark vi. 1, vi. 7, xiv. 33, 43; and again in those passages in which Luther, with more regard to the requirements of the German idiom, invariably resolved a present participle denoting action into a relative or conditional clause or even into a member coördinate with the principal verb, as in Rom. iii. 26, 1 Thess. ii. 9, 1 Peter ii. 4, 2 John vii, Heb. ix. 6, etc. Here and there, too, as in Rom. 4, the author has in our judgment been a little too free with the use of his parentheses to indicate that the enclosed words do not belong to the original text.

But after all these are matters of minor importance alongside of the many excellencies that these volumes present. It is certainly gratifying to the author's many admirers to see him bringing forth in his old age such excellent fruit from the field he has so long, so carefully, and so successfully cultivated.

Princeton.

FREDERICK W. LOETSCHER.

THE GOSPEL OF SAINT MATTHEW IN WEST SAXON, and THE GOSPEL OF SAINT JOHN IN WEST SAXON. By JAMES W. BRIGHT, Ph.D., Johns Hopkins University. Boston and London: D. C. Heath & Co.

These editions of the Gospels, Saint Matthew and Saint John, are a part of an elaborate series of English texts, known at first as "The Millennial Series," and now issued under the title "The Belles Lettres Series," including in its comprehensive plan more than two hundred volumes. Divided into seven representative sections, chronological and topical, it embraces the developing history of English literature, from its beginning in Old English days down to the later authors of the nineteenth century. The sections are as follows:

English Literature to the year 1100.

Middle English Literature.

The English Drama.

Literary Criticism and Theory.

Seventeenth and Eighteenth Century Poets.

Nineteenth Century Poets.

The English Novel.

The general editor of these respective sections, as also the special editors of the several texts, represent the best British and American scholarship in the development of English letters, while the official connection of most of the editors with institutions of learning would appropriately designate the series as the University Series of English Texts.

The two volumes in hand are included in the first section, the distinctively Old English era of our language and literature, it being the object of the publishers to edit all the important texts of this period, such as Caedmon, Beowulf, Judith, Elene, Andreas, Christ, the prose of Alfred and Aelfric. In addition to these two gospels, Judith, Juliana and The Battle of Maldon have already appeared.

The *Beowulf*, by Prof. Klaeber, is to be edited before the close of the year, while Prof. Bright has given us an eminently satisfactory edition of *Saint Luke in Anglo-Saxon* (1893). Of these Old English editions none should be of greater interest than these gospels, partly because of their subject-matter as Scriptural, and also because of the unique way in which they illustrate the earliest relations of our language and our literature. As Dr. Bright, in his Preface, states it, "The first English version of the gospels, preceding the Wicliffe Bible (1380) by four hundred years, is made historically important by the fact of chronology alone"—important, as he adds, "to the professional student of English and to the professional student of Scripture." Edited from the original manuscripts, their scholarly character is assured, while the Notes, Bibliography and Glossary, as given us in the "*Saint John*," make it possible for every ambitious English scholar to study it intelligently and effectively. Other Biblical editions and versions, such as *Caedmon's Paraphrase*, *Aldhelm's Psalms*, *Alfred's Psalms* and *Aelfric's Pentateuch*, have a distinctive philological and literary value, and yet it is in the gospels that we seem to come nearest to the heart of the vernacular. The traditional translation of a portion of *Saint John's Gospel* by the Venerable Bede, of the North of England, takes us back to the early decades of the eighth century (735), more than two centuries prior to the version now under review. In 1842, *Thorpe's Version of the Gospels* appeared; in 1865, "*The Gothic and Anglo-Saxon Gospels, with the parallel versions of Wicliffe and Tyndale*," by Bosworth and Waring, and in 1871-87, "*The Holy Gospels in Anglo-Saxon, Northumbrian and Old Mercian Versions*," by Skeat.

One of the most healthful signs of the times from an educational point of view is the increasing interest that is shown in these earliest specimens of English, and scholars are making unwonted efforts to edit these old literary products in such wise as to attract and assist all English students. Prof. Bright and others are aiming in their Biblical editions to attract especially English and American divinity students. We read of Bede translating *Saint John* "for the benefit of the Church of God," and it is for the Church, as well as for the college, that such editions as these are prepared. Inasmuch as now in our American universities and colleges Old English is offered as one of the English courses, it is within the opportunity of every college graduate in a theological seminary to utilize such volumes as these, so as to acquaint himself with the English Bible at its linguistic source. Such opportunity should be zealously embraced.

Princeton.

T. W. HUNT.

THE TWENTIETH CENTURY NEW TESTAMENT. A Translation into Modern English. New York and Chicago: Fleming H. Revell Co.

One of the best testimonies to Christianity is the fact that men so often talk about "real Christianity," and pay honor to their idea of it. So it is with the Bible. Men are more interested in it than any other book. Within the last year the publisher of the American Standard Revision has brought out that text in a hundred different styles of Bible. No other book has a demand justifying so many editions. One of the results of this general interest in the Scriptures is the book before us.

On opening it, one questions why it is necessary to conceal so carefully the identity of the translators. Surely the final revision would not have suffered by having the names of the translators announced to the readers. Attention is at once arrested by the order of books. The parts are grouped under the topical heads of History, Letters and Apocalypse. Within the groups the arrangement is chronological. This puts Mark first in the historical section and James first in the letters. The Pauline epistles are divided into an Early Group; Thessalonians: a Main Group; Galatians, Corinthians, Romans: a Roman Im-

prisonment Group; Colossians, Philemon, Ephesians, Philippians: a Late Group; Timothy and Titus. Hebrews, Peter, Jude, John and the Revelation follow in the order named. The usually accepted order of dates prevails thus in this chronological arrangement. An introduction is prefixed to each book. Here an agnostic position seems to prevail. Immediately under the title of First and Second Timothy, Titus and Hebrews is found the statement in small capitals and bracketed: "Date and Place of Writing Uncertain." Second Peter is introduced by the same declaration, but this time in large capitals and not bracketed. Second and Third John have the statement in small capitals and bracketed: "Place and Date of Writing Unknown." What shades of disbelief these variations of type and form mean, the reader is left to discover. The historical books seem not to have authors but "compilers." "The gospel (according to Matthew), in its present form, begins with a preface giving an account of the birth of Jesus, and concludes with an appendix giving an account of the resurrection. These are evidently from other sources than those from which the body of the work was derived." Of Luke's gospel we are told, "The sources from which this matter was drawn cannot yet be identified with certainty." In the case of the fourth gospel we hear of a writer instead of a compiler. Just why this gospel is by a "writer" and not by a "compiler" is not clear. Who the compilers were is an almost hopeless question. Mark "appears to be the work of John Mark." No guess is hazarded as to the compiler of Matthew's gospel. The compiler of Luke's gospel was "probably the Luke who also compiled the 'Acts of the Apostles.'" The fourth gospel "was not authoritatively attributed to the Apostle John till toward the end of the second century." Of Acts we are told "there is strong support for the view that St. Luke was the author or compiler of the book." The Pauline Epistles are mostly by Paul, though it is said that the genuineness of Ephesians "has been frequently assailed, but it may with some confidence be attributed to the Apostle himself." In respect to the author of the Apocalypse, "There is at present no certain clue to his identity." The writers of these introductions evidently express much more fully what they do not know than what they know. Surely the reader might have been told the name of the author who has been credited with each book in the past, even if the writer of the introduction had been constrained to express his dissent from that opinion.

Of the mechanical features of the book one can speak with approval. The paragraphing seems to be well done and the headings are well expressed. In the use of quotation marks the translators set themselves a task which must of necessity not meet the approval of all readers. Thus John iii. 16 is seen to be author's comment, with which opinion most readers will agree, though dissent will not be lacking. If we are going to have quotations indicated, let us have them in the regular way, rather than by such literary monstrosities as the Red Letter Testament. Another marked advantage is the placing the verse numbers in the margin. It was a step backward when the American Revision marred its lines by the insertion of the verse numerals.

But the chief question of the value of a translation lies in the rendering of the text. Naturally the first question is as to the Greek text. The title-page tells us that Westcott and Hort's text is used. The translators are careful to state their object is to make a new translation—not a revision. Their desire for up-to-dateness is seen in the choice of title. It suggests that possibly the book belongs in the same class with the "Jefferson" and "Women's" Bibles. Why did they not say "The Modern English Testament"? The anxiety to render the text into everyday vernacular leads to "Good News" for gospel and "captain" for centurion. On the whole one is impressed with the careful work that has been done. He reads the old passages with new interest and sometimes with new light. Certainly the translation is full of suggestions. Then occasionally the reader wonders why the modern expression has been missed. Thus, in the Parable of

the Wheat and the Tares, we read "the blades of corn shot up." Certainly no American would speak thus of a field in which wheat is said to have been sowed. But it would be ungracious to find fault with every detail of a translation which certainly does put the thought of the text simply and clearly before the reader. Much of this gain is due to the skillful breaking up of the long Greek sentences into several English ones. A further improvement is the repeating of the noun where in all other English versions the Greek pronouns have just been translated and the result is a lot of *hes* and *hims* mixed up in great confusion. No English author would ever think of writing such bewildering sentences as are found in the King James Version. On the whole, he who esteems spirit more highly than letter will welcome this addition to his books for study. But the great majority of English readers will turn to the American Revision as embodying for them much that is new, but yet not sacrificing the dignity and stateliness of the version which they heard read everywhere a quarter of a century ago.

W. B. SHEDDAN.

IV.—HISTORICAL THEOLOGY.

THE CHURCH AND ITS ORGANIZATION IN PRIMITIVE AND CATHOLIC TIMES. An Interpretation of Rudolph Sohm's *Kirchenrecht*. By WALTER LOWRIE, M.A. Vol. I, THE PRIMITIVE AGE. New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1904. Pp. 402.

The writer of this interesting work, by birth and education a member of the Presbyterian Church, has become an Episcopalian; hence, perhaps, his great interest in the Church and its organization. While becoming acquainted with the German language and German theology, he read in 1893 Sohm's work on *Kirchenrecht*. Here he found a thorough discussion of "the historical foundation" of all ecclesiastical legislation set forth with the learning and clearness of a master. Mr. Lowrie a few years later elaborated a work of his own on Church organization, and, as he began to write it, returned to Sohm for further suggestions, when he was amazed to find that "many of the results which I accounted substantial contributions of my own were rightly his peculiar property." Nothing was left for him but to ask to be allowed to use freely the material of Sohm in his own work. This was readily granted and the present volume thus became possible. But in it Mr. Lowrie does not offer a translation of Sohm's book of 700 pages, neither does he give an interpretation in the ordinary sense; he uses the leading ideas of Sohm's first chapter of 156 pages so far as he needs them in his own book of 400 pages, while the rest of Sohm's volume lies largely outside his plan. After an introduction (pp. 1-100) touching on (1) denominational controversy about the ministry a question of form, (2) legalized Christianity, (3) no Catholic controversy about form of the ministry, (4) Reformation principles, (5) denominational controversy, and (6) modern study of Church organization, he comes to his main theme in this Volume I, viz., Primitive Christianity. He treats the subject-matter here in three sections: I. The Idea of the Church, under which are discussed (1) the name *Ecclesia*, (2) Jesus' use of the word Church, (3) apostolic notion of the Church, (4) idea of Church organization, (5) significance of order and custom in the Church; II. The Assembly for Instruction, involving (1) Church assemblies in general, (2) conduct of the Assembly, (3) prayer and praise, (4) gift of teaching, (5) the teaching office, (6) the teachers and the assembly, and (7) election and ordination. Section III treats the eucharistic assembly, and embraces (1) significance of the eucharist for Church order and organization, (2) Church property, (3) bishops, (4) deacons, and (5) presbyters.

Sohm divides the history of canon law into two great sections: first, from the

time of Christ to the fourth century, when the decisions of great Councils brought a circle of source material to the front upon which in a peculiar sense ecclesiastical law could be built, and second, from the fourth century onward. In the first period the field is theological, and in the second it is canonical.

The first has been especially neglected by jurists, though in it lie the beginning and the principles which dominated all the later development. To overlook it is to lose the key to the whole problem, and this key can be found only by the living Christian. Sohm writes: "Christianity came into the world, supernatural, superhuman. Thou wilt never understand it until thou hast thyself drunk from the magic cup, whose contents quench the thirst of the soul. Drink and thou wilt discover a new world, never seen before, the world of the spiritual, overarching, overilluminating the world of matter. It is this world of the spiritual which we must see if we are to understand the origin of Church jurisprudence and its whole subsequent history" (*Vorrede*, s. 4). He then proceeds to state the cardinal principle of his book, which is that a system of law is in conflict with Christianity as a system of love; the one is a matter of form, force, justice, and has no vital relation as such to the gospel life of the Church. He continues: "This world of the spiritual cannot be apprehended with judicial eyes. Nay, more, its nature stands in contradiction to the nature of jurisprudence. The spiritual nature of the Church excludes all sorts of ecclesiastical legal modes of procedure. The development of canon law took place in growing conflict with the nature of the Church. This fact dominates the history of canon law from the earliest days to the present, and this is the fact above all others which must be made evident" (*ib.*).

And this is the thesis which Lowrie adopts and "of which this whole work may be taken as the proof" (p. 10). The Church of love became a Church of law; the Church of duties became a Church of rights; and in this subjection of the Christian society to the terms of a legal constitution, with the clergy as officials, Sohm and Lowrie see the essence of Catholicism. In support of this main thesis Lowrie follows Sohm in developing a second very fruitful principle, which, while it seemed to indicate "want of faith in the guidance of the Spirit, recognizes at the same time that the character of legalized (Catholic) Christianity was conditioned essentially by the primitive conception of the nature of the Church" (p. 10). Christ was King. He ruled through the Spirit. The Church was a theocracy rather than a republic, and its officers represented Christ the King rather than the democracy. If any law arose it was divine law, and all authority was *jure divino*.

According to Sohm the true view of the Church, the New Testament view, is that it is the Israel of God, "the Assembly of all Christendom," whether in the house, the prayer meeting, the local church or a larger assembly. It was everywhere and always one and the same Church, both local and universal. "For the word *Ecclesia* expresses no definite empirical magnitude, no particular social organization—not even that of the local community—but simply a dogmatic judgment of value (Werthurtheil). The name *Ecclesia* is applied to every assembly which dogmatically—according to its spiritual value as it is apprehended by *faith*—constitutes an assembly of *Christendom*, an assembly of the people of the New Covenant before and with God (or Christ)" (p. 136).

That is the idea of the Church; it is not material or formal or geographical, not of whole or parts; it is spiritual, "the assembly of the whole of *Christendom*," always one, though it has innumerable manifestations local and universal. The polity of Congregationalist, Presbyterian or Episcopalian rests upon external things, and none of them touches the real idea of the Church which underlies them all. "The idea of the local congregation (the parish)—indeed of any *congregation* in the narrower modern sense of the word—is one which has absolutely no bearing upon the organization of the Church. There is no such thing as an

assembly of the local congregation, or of the household congregation, or of any other congregation as such; and consequently there are no organs or officers of such congregation" (from Sohm, p. 139). There is no local church as such. "In Christendom there are none but ecumenical assemblies (*Ecclesiæ*) and the organs, of such assemblies are ecumenical organs or officers. *The Ecclesia alone exists, and consequently the Ecclesia alone is organized.* Such organization as develops must ever aim at representing *Church* organization, the organization of the universal congregation, the *Ecclesia*. But *the Ecclesia as a whole is incapable of organization.*" In the Church which is spiritual, ruled by free inward assent to the Word of God, which is *substantially* justified, there can be no exercise of legal rule. Sohm goes on to urge that "the organization of the Church is not a legal but a charismatic organization, hence it has a God-given organization" under love not law, utterly remote from "the organization of a secular society with its council of elders, archons, etc." This fundamental position of Sohm—that law is incompatible with the very idea of the *Ecclesia*, that there can be no legal organization of the *Ecclesia*—naturally has provoked most discussion. And it certainly is surprising to find a professor of canon law declaring that his whole department of study is an accretion, a foreign growth upon the Church, a legal load utterly at variance with the true character of the New Testament *Ecclesia*. Lowrie defends Sohm. He holds that law in the Church produces only *denominations*, among which he classes both the Church of England and the Church of Rome, and thinks that not till legal organization is set aside can the union of Christendom take place. He says the distinction between the visible and invisible Church has done woful injury; but the doctrine of the legal Church is tenfold more pernicious (p. 153). A legal Church is an impossibility; law can produce only a legal *denomination*—a surrogate for the Church. We can refer to but one more point in Lowrie's book; that is the significance which he attaches to order and custom in the Church. By the use of these and not by *legal means* is the unity of the *Ecclesia* to be preserved and her mission fulfilled. *Love and meekness* will produce conformity and coöperation. They will make a charismatic organization effective, for they reflect the mind that is in Christ Jesus, the Head of the Church. They would prevent radically different customs and methods, for these would hinder fellowship and coöperation; they would stop divisions, for divisions mean weakness and lack of love; they would set aside great divergencies of order and custom, too, for these would discredit the belief in the divine guidance of the Church, and hinder the realization of fellowship. All custom would be tested by the Christian consciousness as to edification and be fairly uniform.

What we have said will give a sufficient idea of the Sohm-Lowrie theory of the Church. The rest of this volume deals with a historical illustration of this principle as seen in "the Assembly for instruction" and "the Eucharistic Assembly." With our author's opposition to theories of Church government *de jure divino* we have much sympathy. In his insistence upon the spiritual character of the *Ecclesia* we can, for the most part, agree; though we do not think there is as much *law* in the Protestant Churches as he assumes, or as wide a difference from the charismatic Church as he takes for granted. Sohm looks at ecclesiastical life from the Erastian point of view of the Continental Churches; and Lowrie has, in a measure, carried that attitude into his estimate of all the Churches. He well points out that no matter what legal organization forms the framework of the Church, there are found in all denominations an order and tradition and free adjustment to changing needs which spring from the charismatic and spiritual forces in these religious communities. Even the Quakers, who are the one professedly charismatic *Ecclesia* among us, show few advantages in doing Christian work above the other Churches. His statement, after Sohm, that the Presbyterian Churches in their Confessions make Church government an object of faith

as do the Catholics, may be true in theory, but very few Reformed theologians now insist on the presbytery *de jure divino*. Hence his criticism of the Presbyterian system seems unduly severe. He says: "It is a model of secular government; but it is more utterly lacking in Scripture authority, is more thoroughly opposed to the New Testament idea of the Church, than any of the rival forms of government which have been developed from *Catholic* principles" (p. 54).

This large liberty from legalism in polity he wishes extended also to creeds. He would enlarge the well-known statement to read: "The Protestant principle should now be: Whatsoever is *not necessary to salvation, whether in the Scriptures or out of them*, is not to be required of any man that it should be believed as an article of faith" (p. 66). He thinks Congregationalists and Anglicans lead in taking this position.

This work of Lowrie, especially if it shall lead to a study of the great work of Sohm back of it, is worthy of the attention of all Church leaders. Especially in these days of efforts toward union among the Churches, it would greatly facilitate progress if all matters of legal organization were to be regarded as belonging to the domain of Christian expediency and edification and not primarily to divine revelation. But here, as elsewhere, custom and prejudice, not law and organization, will be the chief obstacles in the way. It is hardly too much to say that the Episcopal Church, to which our author belongs, while holding no dogma of Church government, is the most relentless in insisting upon its own clerical grades as indispensable to Church order and work. It will be most gratifying if his work shall act as leaven in the hierarchical Churches; for in the great body of evangelical Churches there is really no question of dogma to be overcome in returning to what is called the charismatic Church of the New Testament.

Chicago, Ill.

HUGH M. SCOTT.

A SHORT HISTORY OF THE WESTMINSTER ASSEMBLY. By W. BEVERIDGE, M.A. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1904. Crown 8vo: pp. xvi, 169. Imported by Charles Scribner's Sons, New York. Price, \$1 net.

Mr. Beveridge has managed to put into this brief compass a clear, exact and brightly written account of the Westminster Assembly and its work. One of the features of the volume is the admirable pains that have been expended in making it easy to use. It is broken into short chapters, which are themselves subdivided into numbered sections, a list of which is given at the beginning of each chapter: the repetition of these section-headings in the Table of Contents provides a complete analysis of the contents of the volume. There is a sufficient index. A "Table of Dates and Events in the History of the Assembly" is inserted immediately after the Table of Contents. Four appendices supply documentary illustrations. One would think that the needs of most readers would be amply supplied by the readable and carefully framed narrative.

The matter of the book seems open to very few criticisms. The complicated question of the Committees engaged on the first draught of the Confession of Faith is very wisely passed over lightly (p. 108). Perhaps the phrase, "The Committee appointed in 1644 made its report on May 12, 1645," needs some modification in view of the doubt whether prior to May 9 there was one Committee or two charged with this business (see *Presbyterian and Reformed Review*, April, 1901, p. 235). Possibly the sources of the Larger Catechism are not quite accurately stated (p. 138, cf. Mitchell's *Baird Lectures*, ed. 2, p. 434). Some confusion may be created in the uninstructed reader's mind by the remark on p. 106 to the effect that "the Scotch Confession of 1560 ignores the decree of reprobation," in connection with that on p. 120 to the effect that "the Westminster Confession, in contrast with the Scottish Confession, does not use the word *reprobate* in its Article on Election," and the exaggeration of this on p. 128 into "The Westminu-

ster Confession makes no reference to a *decree of reprobation*." In truth, of course, the Scotch Confession of 1560 does not ignore the decree of reprobation (see *The Presbyterian and Reformed Review*, January, 1901, pp. 67, 106, 123), nor does the Westminster Confession fail to teach it explicitly (chap. iii, §§ 3, 4, 7), although it does not make use of the term "reprobation." There is too decided a tendency to explain away the Westminster Confession's rejection of Amyraldism on p. 114 and pp. 128-129: this rejection is explicit and cannot be so set aside (cf. *The Presbyterian and Reformed Review*, April, 1901, p. 276).

The remarks on p. 61 on the *jus divinum* of "ruling elders" in the light of "modern investigations" do not appear to us quite to meet the state of the case. That in every church it was the wish of Paul that a plurality of presbyters who shared in the government should be ordained, appears to us not open to question. That all of these "ruled" and only some of them "taught" seems clearly implied in such a text as 1 Tim. v. 17; from which text, therefore, at least a nascent differentiation of function among the presbyters seems capable of being inferred. Modern investigation does not appear to have set aside these conclusions, and Mr. Beveridge does not seem to think it has. But the natural inference to draw from them seems to threaten not the *jus divinum* for the ruling elder so much as the differentiated teaching elder,—the "minister," "pastor," or "bishop," as we may choose to call him. The fact seems, indeed, to be that the "ruling elder" is clearly *jure divino*; while the exclusive teaching elder may have difficulty in establishing his right on New Testament grounds. Indeed, it was just to establish his right that Dr. Lightfoot's immense historical learning was devoted in his famous essay. We ourselves think he fairly succeeded; and we are prepared to follow him in his discovery of warrant for the differentiated "teaching presbyter" or "bishop"—of course "parochial", since even Dr. Lightfoot did not find (or, for the matter of that, seek) a scintilla of evidence for the apostolic origin of the "diocesan bishop." In our personal opinion, therefore, the result of modern investigation has been to shift the onus of the question entirely. It has left the "ruling elder" with a clear *jus divinum* and raised a problem about the differentiated parochial "bishop" or "teaching elder."

In one or two phrases Mr. Beveridge has been led astray by the authorities on whom he has relied. "Modern theology" cannot be said to be "Christological" (p. 116) by any one who does not follow Dr. Schaff in his "mediating theology" (which is now passing, if it has not largely already passed, out of view), and then (like him) mistake his own theology for "modern theology." All theology is "theocentric"—on pain of ceasing to be "theology." It is very probably Dr. Schaff also or Dr. Mitchell who has misled Mr. Beveridge in misdefining "Infralapsarianism" (pp. 106, 127) as "putting the Fall under a *permissive* decree, and making man alone responsible for sin and condemnation." It is characteristic of Infralapsarianism no more than of Supralapsarianism "to put the Fall under a *permissive* decree," or "to make man alone responsible for sin and condemnation." Such questions lie outside the debate between these two parties of Calvinists, whose difference concerns solely the question of what is technically called "the object of predestination" in the soteriological sense of that word. The very terms are enough to indicate this: we cannot speak of Infralapsarian and Supralapsarian except with reference to another decree (namely, that of "election") as placed by the two parties in different relations to the decree of the Fall, which is therefore held in common by them both. Infralapsarians and Supralapsarians as such do not differ as to the relation of the decree of God to the Fall or as to the sole responsibility of man for sin (cf. *Presbyterian and Reformed Review*, January, 1901, pp. 126-127).

It was doubtless inevitable in the circumstances that Mr. Beveridge should have something to say of the "Confession of Faith and the Free Church of Scot-

land Declaratory Act, 1892." But we are not sure whether the insertion of the long section (pp. 122-132) upon this subject does not mar the unity of the book, and throw a local and temporary coloring about it which it does not deserve to have. We think it a pity to place such stress on Lord Halsbury's amazing and amusing excursions into a domain evidently so unwonted to him as theology. His views were in no sense supported by the court, and stand out in history only as one of the curiosities of legal literature. But on the other hand, it seems hardly possible to acquit the Free Church Declaratory Act of bungling. None of our Presbyterian Churches which have passed Declaratory Acts of late can be said to have been happy in its work. The motives that have swayed them may be good, and the essential meaning of the Acts may be defensible: but what they have said has assuredly not been well said, and will not be permanently held to be creditable to the clarity of theological thought or the power of theological definition of their authors. The Church of Henderson, Rutherford, Gillespie and Baillie would beyond all question as zealously as the Free Church of Scotland have asserted the privilege and duty of the free proclamation of the Gospel, the responsibility of men for their reception of the Gospel, the condemnation of men solely for sin. But it would have asserted these things indefinitely better than the Free Church managed to express them in its Declaratory Act: and it may be safely predicted that not even a Lord Halsbury could have commented on their expression of them as this wonderful theologian has, not without some excuse, commented on the Free Church Declaratory Act. It is not merely Lord Halsbury who is to blame if the Free Church has been misunderstood. And his misunderstanding is not apt to be the only evil that will come from such a bungling piece of work.

Princeton.

B. B. WARFIELD.

THE THEOLOGY OF THE REFORMED CHURCH IN ITS FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLES.

By the late WILLIAM HASTIE, D.D., Professor of Divinity in the University of Glasgow. Edited by WILLIAM FULTON, B.D., B.Sc., formerly Scholar and Fellow of the University of Glasgow. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1904. Imported by Charles Scribner's Sons. Svo; pp. xvi, 283. \$2 net.

This notable volume consists of the Croall Lectures delivered by the late Prof. Hastie in the Tron Church of Edinburgh in the spring of 1892. A variety of considerations induced the author to secure permission from the Croall Trustees to take his own time for the fulfillment of what, besides the actual delivery of the discourses, constitutes an indispensable condition for lecturing upon this foundation, namely, the publication of the work. And so it came to pass that Dr. Hastie, by delaying the appearance of his book from year to year in order to enlarge and verify his studies, was prevented by death from bringing out his *Lectures* in the very form in which he would have chosen to have them. A student and friend of his, Mr. Fulton, has, however, most admirably done the necessary editorial work. The most important references have been supplied; only here and there are slight gaps left in the chain of argument; and for the most part we have the very words of the lecturer himself.

We heartily endorse the wish which Prof. Flint expresses in his brief commendatory Preface, that the "work so long looked for" may be "widely and kindly received." Indeed, we cannot refrain from saying at the very outset, that we regard Dr. Hastie's exposition of the historic development of the Reformed theology as one of the clearest, strongest, and most valuable presentations of this theme that have as yet appeared in our own or in any other language. Almost every page reveals the author's superlative qualifications for the task he has undertaken. A genuine lover of the Reformed theology, he made it his life-work to investigate its genesis, to defend its principles, and to apply its truths to the

needs of his age. He writes from a large knowledge not only of history, but also of science and philosophy; his theological equipment in particular is of the highest order; he has, moreover, a rare gift for lucid, cogent, and fascinating expression, which, combined with his profound conviction as to the superiority of the Reformed over all the other theological systems, imparts to his style the eloquence of a convincing argumentation and a noble intensity of feeling. Especially in these days of theological indifferentism and of so much confusion and uncertainty concerning the meaning and the merits of the Calvinistic construction of the universe, it is most refreshing to read so strong and able a presentation and defense of what is "undoubtedly the profoundest theological expression of the new religious life of humanity that was quickened and unfolded into being by the great creative impulse of the modern world, the Reformation" (p. 8).

The first lecture or chapter, strictly introductory, speaks of the importance of discovering and elucidating the continuity of the Reformed faith, especially in view of the wide prevalence of Ritschlianism, the merits of which are as frankly acknowledged as its defects and insufficiencies are ably presented. Dr. Hastie sets for himself and for the Reformed Church a threefold task: (1) The renewed study of the sources of the Reformed theology; (2) the logical and historical determination of the fundamental principles of the system; and (3) "the scientific development of these principles, if such may be found possible, in the light of their own history and by the aid of all the theological resources of the time." It is in the discharge of the first two of these duties that the author has done so much to call forth our admiration. For in the solution of the last problem, as we shall see, his work, though excellent in many respects, is marred by grave defects.

Having concluded the introductory survey with a critical estimate of the achievements of the Reformed theologians of all lands,—Dr. Kuyper's *Stone Lectures on Calvinism* had not yet appeared,—the writer proceeds in the second chapter to ascertain and authenticate the "Protestant Principle of the Reformed Church." This he finds, not in the right of private judgment, not in any merely rationalistic tendency, nor yet in the claims of religious subjectivity (though this theory is admitted to have a certain justification in the character of the Lutheran theology), but specifically in the sphere of Church-reform. Now undoubtedly Dr. Hastie's view, based as it is upon the monumental work of Schweizer, is essentially correct. But we cannot help feeling that in elucidating this truth our author has not employed his usual skill in giving us the right perspective. In the very last paragraph we do, indeed, learn that "in this immediacy of the religious relation between God and the soul, in the absolute dependency of man for salvation upon God alone, lies the Protestant Principle of the Reformed Church." But we are convinced that in correlating this "the positive side of the Church-reforming principle" with the characteristic negative tendencies of Protestantism,—the Lutheran Church being relatively anti-Judaic, the Reformed relatively anti-pagan,—the author has not done full justice to the fundamentally religious interests and motives that gave birth to the Reformation. Even if the terms "negative" and "positive" in this discussion are not to be regarded as somewhat forced and artificial, greater pains should have been taken to show precisely how these two aspects of the one organic movement stand related to each other.

In chapter iii the now ascertained purgative and organizing principle of the Reformed Church is applied to existing ecclesiastical conditions: to the Church of Rome, whose excellence in the practical sphere is freely conceded, but whose last two dogmas only bear new testimony to her inherent idolatrous or pagan spirit; to the Church of England, which, originally at one with the Reformed in doctrine as in polity, stands in woful need of regaining the purity and catholicity of her youth, since now she presents only the "heterogeneous combination and toleration of a Popish liturgy, a Calvinistic creed, and an Arminian clergy"; and lastly, to the

Scottish Reformed Church, whose various branches are here discussed, not from the standpoint of their doctrinal differences, but with reference to their approximations to the Reformed ideal as regards worship and constitution. The next lecture, on "The Theological Principle of the Reformed Theology," is a masterpiece of scientific analysis and brilliant historical criticism. The precise problem is to determine "the distinctive essence and character of the Theological Principle of the Reformed Theology,"—the author prefers this term to "Calvinism,"—"the principle which at once generates and gives a special coloring to all the doctrinal details of the system, the principle which gives unity to all its theological variations and all the diversities of its forms and modes of expression." The leading attempts to formulate this principle—the scientific theories all date from the nineteenth century—are then passed in review. Four tentative and superficial theories are first disposed of, their elements of truth being duly estimated: (1) the peculiar character and idiosyncrasies of the founders of the Reformed theology (Planck, Ullmann); (2) their special culture and training, their humanistic attainments (Weber, Göbel, and others); their democratic spirit and the republican constitution of the Swiss cantons in which it arose (Baumgarten-Crusius); and (4) the free scope given by them to reason in its attitude toward Scripture and tradition (von Ranke). Then follows a closely reasoned discussion of the more adequate theories of Schweizer, Baur, Schneckenburger and Scholten. Schweizer goes to the root of the matter by showing how the Reformed theologians bring "the soul again into immediate relation with God in the sense of its absolute dependence upon Him alone for salvation." This is essentially a theological as distinguished from the more anthropological principle which Luther made "the article of a standing or falling Church," justification by faith alone. Baur agrees with Schweizer that the Reformed theologians begin with God and proceed from above downward to man, while the Lutheran system starts from man and goes back to God. But Baur pertinently criticises Schweizer's formula of the believer's absolute dependence upon God as being after all too subjective and anthropological a mode of expressing the characteristic principle of the Reformed theology. Schweizer in turn is seen to be equally acute and just in his strictures upon Baur's theory that the principle in question is "the absolute causality of God." Baur, indeed, does not repeat the familiar charge of pantheism against the Reformed system, but he asserts for Lutheranism the "superior excellence of carrying out the principle of freedom, which he regards as the essential characteristic of the Reformation" (p. 148), and he likewise contends that Lutheranism is the logical and natural unfolding of Protestantism. Dr. Hastie correctly sides with Schweizer against Baur on these points. Schneckenburger's view of the essential identity of the Lutheran and the Reformed systems is, of course, not accepted as a finality, though in some of its details, especially in the richness and depth of its conception of God, it marks an advance upon Schweizer and Baur. Finally, Dr. Hastie accepts the formulation of the theological principle as given by Scholten of Leiden. It is found, the author says, "in God's absolute sovereignty in the natural and moral worlds, and especially the absolute sovereignty of His free grace as the only ground of human salvation." The author then proceeds to defend this position against the now prevalent Ritschlian theory that the love of God, taken quite apart from the other divine attributes, is the only adequate theological principle for Protestantism. But, as Dr. Hastie clearly shows, this view is "narrow and limited, and although not inconsistent with the Lutheran system, entirely alien to the universal and comprehensive theology of the Reformed Church." On the other hand, we are to guard against conceiving of the sovereignty of God in too external and formal a way. We must emphasize anew the universal teleology of the Reformed system. God is not merely sovereign, ruling the world from without. He is everywhere

present in His works, making them manifest His glory, He being at once the cause of their being, the reason of their development, and the end of their destiny. The author delights to use Krause's term *panentheism* to express this idea that all things live and move and have their being in God. The lecture closes with a bold and brilliant paragraph in which this principle of divine sovereignty is shown to be in harmony with modern science, with all true philosophy, and with the "higher tendencies of modern theology," overcoming agnosticism, deism, pantheism, and pessimism, and "gathering to itself all that is best in our Christian life and thought"—a noble, somewhat too enthusiastic, yet most ably sustained tribute to the Reformed theology.

Chapter v bears the title "The Anthropological Principle of Religious Development in the Reformed Theology Subjectively and Objectively Regarded." Dr. Hastie here defends the Reformed anthropology against the common misrepresentations, and shows its superiority to the Lutheran and the Romish doctrines, giving special attention to the objective development of the religious life in the Federal Theology. It is, however, in this part of his work, in the performance of his third self-appointed task, the "scientific development" of the Reformed principles, that the author, leaving the safe path of historic fact and entering the realm of theological speculation, sadly disappoints us. Even here, to be sure, there is many a suggestive paragraph, as, for example, that in which he draws a parallel between Hegel's three stages in the development of the religious idea and those of the Federal theologians. Not only, however, are there many statements which we cannot read without dissent, but the author's whole conception of developing the principles of the Reformed theology is, in our judgment, defective and untenable. Especially must we part company with him in his last lecture, entitled "The Principle of Absolute Predestination in the Reformed Theology, Historically Formulated and Scientifically Estimated." For here he so extensively develops this principle, "in order to remove its limitations," that he can conclude the discussion with this word of "eternal hope": "The issue shall be a deepened belief in the endless development of all created souls till the absolute purpose of God shall be realized in an infinitely diversified spirit-world, reconciled, perfected, and unified in eternal harmony through spiritual communion with Christ around the throne of God." The historical portion of this chapter is one of the best sections of the book, a sympathetic, courageous, and masterful presentation of absolute predestination as the "very marrow and backbone of the faith of the Reformed Church." But the transformation of this principle into practical universalism we cannot but regard as being inconsistent with the Reformed theology as Dr. Hastie himself has interpreted it, as well as contrary to the Scriptures, which, as the author himself testifies, it has been the strength and glory of Protestantism, and especially of the Reformed theology, to honor as its only rule of faith and practice. After all, Dr. Hastie has no new or better light to throw upon this dark problem. We gladly follow him in his lucid, eloquent, and learned exposition of the historic development of the Reformed theology; but when upon the basis of the past he tries to prophesy the future course of this development, we cannot but feel that he is dipping his pen, not in the sunlight of revelation, but in the altogether uncertain radiance of subjective illumination.

We cannot, however, bring these remarks to a close without giving renewed expression to the unwonted pleasure and profit this book has given us. Despite the lack of specific references to the sources, despite occasional instances of exaggeration and one-sidedness, and despite even that faulty application, in the last chapter, of the doctrine of predestination, the "Croall Lectures for 1892" will, we are confident, be widely read as one of the clearest and strongest expositions of "the Theology of the Reformed Church in its Fundamental Principles."

Princeton.

FREDERICK W. LOETSCHER.

THE CHURCH AND THE GOSPEL. By ALFRED LOISY. Translated by CHRISTOPHER HOME. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1904.

The historical antecedents of this much-discussed volume are familiar to all who have been observing the progress of liberal Catholicism in France during the last decade. No doubt the checkered ecclesiastical fortunes of the author have done much to deepen and broaden the interest in this presentation of his peculiar type of Romanism. But even if he had not been forced to give up his professorship at Paris and to make his peace with the Church after his chief books had been placed in the *Index Prohibitorius*, this work would on its own account have deserved a wide circulation.

It is not, however, because of its positive excellencies that the volume makes such delightful and profitable reading, but rather because of its clear revelation of the inevitable embarrassments that a dutiful subject of the infallible papacy must be pleased to undergo, when he tries to introduce the rationalistic criticism of ultra-radical Protestants into the sphere of the traditional dogmas and practices of the Church of Rome. M. Alfred Loisy is, to be sure, a clear, forcible and exceedingly interesting writer. He reveals an ample knowledge of the problems of modern New Testament criticism and of the history of primitive Christianity. We are not seldom surprised to see so frank and generous a temper in the writings of a Romish priest. But, after all, it is a singularly contracted, unsteady and illogical mind that we here find undertaking the impossible task of reconciling an outworn ecclesiasticism with the latest theories of the most radical criticism of the Scriptures and with the accepted results of scientific investigation in the field of early Church history.

The most satisfactory and indeed the only fair point of view from which to examine the book is found in its relation to Harnack's *Essence of Christianity*. To be sure our author disclaims the intention of refuting the Berlin professor, but the very form of the discussion shows how constantly the polemic purpose has been kept in mind. On the whole, it must be admitted that Harnack has been justly dealt with and that this critique of his celebrated lectures is one of the ablest contributions to the large amount of controversial literature that these discourses have called forth. Loisy has clearly shown how arbitrary is Harnack's treatment of the Gospel sources and his theory of the development of the fundamental Trinitarian and Christological dogmas. But while we gladly endorse the author's negative criticisms, we can by no means think so highly of his attempt at an independent construction of the facts concerning the "Gospel and the Church" in the early days of the faith.

In truth, the perplexed Romanist has made his bed a most uncomfortable one. In his endeavor to refute Harnack, or, according to the Preface, to determine his "exact historical position," our author has, apparently without being conscious of the danger of displeasing his papal commander-in-chief, surrendered one after another of the citadels he was trying to defend. If legendary embellishment and anti-Semitic polemics had so much to do with the formation of our Gospels, if the Deity of Christ and His resurrection are sacrificed, if the divine institution of the Church and her sacraments is denied, obviously the hated "individualistic" views of Harnack are more confirmed than refuted. The book abounds in positions utterly irreconcilable with Romanism or with themselves. And as to what Protestants as a whole must think of some of the characteristic deliverances of the author we may infer from a few sample statements on the "Catholic worship." "In²fact," we read on pages 269 and 270, "it is an extension of the worship of Jesus that, from the Catholic point of view, the worship of the Virgin and the saints is justified. . . . Is it not true that to have recourse to the saints is to have recourse to Jesus—to Jesus, then to God? . . . Is it not true that by all those means the Protestant finds so vulgar and so ridiculous—by wearing a

scapulary, by telling beads, by gaining indulgences on the merits of saints for this life or for souls in Purgatory—the Catholic places himself effectively in the communion of the saints, which is the communion of Jesus, which is the communion of God?"

The chapters on the growth of the hierarchy and the development of the Christian dogmas are able historical discussions and, on the whole, freest from inconsistencies. But the fundamental error, held in common with the Ritschlian whose theological peculiarities are here subjected to so searching a criticism, the error of setting up an internal dualism in the Christian consciousness between science and faith, between history and dogma, necessarily casts its evil influence over the entire discussion. Doubtless it were well for the Christian world if, in accordance with Loisy's wish, Rome could foster a more liberal spirit toward theological science; but his book convinces us, as his personal relations with the Vatican ought to convince him, that it is impossible for a man to remain an orthodox papist, or even a self-consistent thinker, when once he has committed himself to the hypothesis that he can still believe with the heart what is not true to fact in the judgment of his reason.

Princeton.

FREDERICK W. LOETSCHER.

THE ENCYCLOPEDIA OF MISSIONS: DESCRIPTIVE, HISTORICAL, BIOGRAPHICAL, STATISTICAL. Second Edition. Edited under the auspices of the Bureau of Missions by REV HENRY OTIS DWIGHT, LL.D., REV. H. ALLEN TUPPER, Jr., D.D., and REV. EDWIN MUNSELL BLISS, D.D. Funk & Wagnalls Company, 1904. Pp. xii, 851.

The changes in the missionary world since the first appearance of this *Encyclopedia* in 1891 have been so numerous and important that a revision of the work has become imperative. The plan remains essentially the same, but the size has been reduced from two volumes to one. The revision has been effected chiefly, therefore, by condensations and excisions, although new articles have been inserted, old ones enlarged, and all brought up to date.

The work, like its predecessor, is an invaluable reference book. The contributors of special articles are acknowledged authorities. The bibliographies accompanying the leading topics are no doubt as helpful as they can at present be made. In short, the second is a worthy successor to the first edition of this useful encyclopedia.

But we must express our regret at not finding a thoroughly satisfactory index to the heterogeneous material of this ponderous volume. To be sure the Appendixes help to put one on the right track, but after all much time is likely to be lost in trying to get the full benefit of the work on a given question. The cross-references, too, might with advantage have been increased in number. We likewise find it hard to overlook the fact that not a single map or illustration has found its way into this edition. To remedy this defect would doubtless have added considerably to the cost of the work, but we must express the hope that in the next revision the editors will deem this improvement altogether worth while.

Princeton.

FREDERICK W. LOETSCHER.

V.—SYSTEMATIC THEOLOGY.

THE DOCTRINE OF THE ATONEMENT, AND ITS HISTORICAL EVOLUTION. AND RELIGION AND MODERN CULTURE. By the late AUGUSTE SABATIER, Professor in the University of Paris, and Dean of the Protestant Theological Faculty. Translated from the French by VICTOR LEULIETTE, B.ès-L.

(Paris), A.K.C. London: Williams & Norgate; New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1904. Crown 8vo; pp. 228.

No one who has ever read ten lines of the writings of the late Prof. Auguste Sabatier but will have been impressed with the grace of his style and the truly Gallie attractiveness of his method of opening and presenting a subject. His learning seemed only to adorn, his polemic zeal only to add zest to, what seemed always primarily a piece of literature. Whatever else he was he was always eminently readable. The two essays which combine to make up the little volume at present before us are like the rest of his writings in these things. They are like the rest of his writings also in the poverty-stricken thinness of the religious conceptions which they present to us as the only form in which Christianity can hope to live—or rather must expect to die—in the conditions presented by modern culture.

The second of these essays is really an address which was delivered at the Religious Science Congress at Stockholm, September 2, 1897. It undertakes to elucidate precisely the problem of the relations of religion and modern culture. These relations, we are told, are summed up in the one word "conflict." The principle of modern culture is expressed in the single term "autonomy"—that is to say, "the unconquerable assurance of the human mind, in its present advanced state of development, that it possesses within itself the norm of its life and of its thought." It, of course, scouts the "heteronomy" in which traditional religion entrenches itself. Traditional religion, on the other hand, too timid to trust the human soul to its inherent religious instinct, and clinging in one way or another to "external authority," profoundly distrusts the efforts of the human spirit, characterizing every department of modern culture, to realize its independence. What is to be done and what is the outlook for the future? Prof. Sabatier counsels cessation of the external conflict, and points with hope to the mutual interpenetration of religion and culture.

At this point, we delight to say, we are heartily at one with Prof. Sabatier; and the section of the address in which he pictures the coming reconciliation through mutual internal influence, is a beautiful expression of a noble conception, and as well, as we shall be happy to believe, a true forecast of the ultimate issue. "To the violent and sterile conflict, which we have just described, there succeeds the closest and most active solidarity." Scientific men having become religious, the science they produce will exhibit the traits of their religion. Religious men having become scientific, the religion they serve will take on the forms of rational and intellectually defensible expression. "Being an inner inspiration, a deep-seated life, kindled within the soul itself by the Spirit of God, piety will not act from without upon science in order to curb it beneath a strange law; it will not impose its methods or assign its limits to science, still less will it dictate its conclusions. But it will call forth and maintain, within the heart of the scientist, the sacred flame of the religious, that is to say, absolute love of truth." Similarly religion will manifest itself as "in communication and close touch with human culture." It is the vision of the lion and lamb lying down together: and, we praise God for it, it is a vision that is to be realized.

It is all the more regrettable, that, when we look closely at Prof. Sabatier's personal expectation—perhaps we would better say, individual prophecy—of the precise manner in which this great end shall be attained, we discover that the side of the lion where he looks (and hopes) to see the lamb lie down is the inside. He tells us, indeed, that religion is to borrow nothing from culture, but to go its own way to its own perfect development. But he conceives that religion in its perfect development will possess nothing that culture can take the least interest in. The process by which religion is to make itself "agreeable to the general culture of modern times" is a process of "freeing itself from worn out forms and old ideas."

And to Prof. Sabatier every form and idea is old and worn out except the pure products of the religious sentiment itself. The Socinian criticism, the Rationalistic assault, the demands of Modern Culture, these, in Prof. Sabatier's apprehension, are the successive instruments by means of which religion has been progressively purified; and the pure religion he commends to us as the religion of the future is accordingly just a highly sentimentalized natural religion. He expresses this dreary conclusion in terms so gracious and so suggestive that we scarcely realize that it is merely bald natural religion that is commended to us. We read almost without shock of the doctrines of the Trinity, of the Person of Christ, of the Sacrificial Atonement as so much "Christian Mythology" which has "broken down beneath the blows of the rationalism of the eighteenth century." Under the sense of the beauty of the conception of piety which describes it as "the sensitiveness of the heart for God," we almost fail to catch what is meant when we are told that "the permanent Christian consciousness will be the religious consciousness of man, induced by the experience of filial piety wrought in the soul of Christ." It is with all the more shock that we realize in the end that when Prof. Sabatier commends to us the religion of Jesus, he means rather the religion which Jesus had than the religion that has Jesus.

The earlier of the two essays affords an illustration of how fully Prof. Sabatier in the religion he commends to modern men was prepared to do without Jesus and all that Jesus has stood for in the religion He founded. Its subject is the doctrine of the Atonement, and its method is what Prof. Sabatier calls "the historical method." That is to say, it is dominated by the assumption that when you have worked out the historical development of a doctrine you have "explained" that doctrine—which in the view of writers of this class is the same as to say you have explained it away. The object of this essay is to trace "the historical evolution of the doctrine of the Atonement," with a view to rendering any doctrine of Atonement incredible. The first half of it is occupied with the Biblical conceptions of Atonement; the last half with the ideas that have been entertained by the teachers of the Church. The one class of conceptions is treated as of as little authority as the other: and it is not unassuring to those of us who believe in a doctrine of Atonement on the authority of Scripture, to observe from such an exposition as is here given us that it can be got rid of only along with the authority of Scripture. When we are told that the sacrifices of the Old Testament are of merely human origin and significance, for example, it comforts us somewhat to learn that it has to be allowed that the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews (a treatise we admire even more than we do Prof. Sabatier's) thought very differently. And when we are told that the idea of substitution is crude and impossible, it brings us some consolation to learn that confessedly it is positively contained in the teaching of Paul, a writer in whose view we cannot help placing some confidence with respect to such a matter.

The essay is professedly a historical one. Perhaps it is not wrong in us to take interest in it, therefore, chiefly from the historical point of view. Its main interest to us at all events arises not from any help it brings us for understanding the Atonement, but from the information it gives us of what Prof. Sabatier was accustomed to teach concerning the Atonement. For it cannot be without very great significance to those living in this modern age to have so authoritative an exposition of what it is that is commended to us by the leaders of the new thought as to the essence of Christianity. Let us say at once, however, that we find nothing particularly new in Prof. Sabatier's doctrine of the Atonement. He himself is conscious that it is the outcome of the Socinian and Rationalistic criticism, and in point of fact it merely reproduces the characteristic view of these schools of destructive criticism, driven to the last extremity.

According to Prof. Sabatier the Gospel is summed up in the parables of the

prodigal son and of the publican (p. 123), and he makes it the reproach of the orthodox that they find only a part of the Gospel in these parables and seek a supplement for them in other passages of Scripture. Accordingly "God needs neither mediation nor satisfaction" (p. 120). "The Father is satisfied if the prodigal son, confessing his sins and condemning his errors, earnestly repents and returns to his Father's house" (p. 120). "In order to accomplish the work of the salvation of sinners, Jesus then had no need to influence God, whose love has taken and forever retains the initiative of forgiveness. God has no need to be brought back to man and reconciled with him" (p. 125). Christ's entire work consists, therefore, in reconciling man to God, "in bringing about in the individual and in humanity the state of repentance in which alone the forgiveness of the Father can become effective" (p. 126). For the only thing God asks and can ask as the ground of forgiveness of the sinner is simply repentance on the sinner's part. "Forgiveness for the sinner, who repents from the bottom of his heart: such is the message of the Gospel. What constitutes the superiority of the Christian conception of the Father, is precisely that it rises above the feeling of retaliation and vengeance, and that it wills not the death of the sinner, but his conversion and life. What *satisfaction* does the Father in the parable require in order to forgive his repentant son who returns to him?" (p. 112). "From one end of the Gospel to the other, forgiveness of sins is promised simply to repentance and faith, because, in the inner life of the soul, repentance and faith are in reality the beginning of the defeat and destruction of sin" (p. 120). It is not taught indeed that "repentance is the cause of forgiveness of sins"; "this cause," it is remarked, "is none other than the love of the Father for His children." "But repentance is the necessary and sufficient condition"; and "it is impossible to conceive God the Father rejecting one of His children who returns to Him, condemning himself, deploring his sins, and craving forgiveness" (p. 124). Repentance, in one word, "is salvation itself" (p. 127). "There is no atonement other than repentance" (p. 127). From which it would seem to follow that the atoning act is the act of man, not of Christ, and that Christ's whole work consists in bringing man to perform this atoning act of repentance.

How Christ accomplishes this, is that He so touches our hearts as to make us grieve over our evil entreatment of our loving Father. In this work of touching our hearts, no doubt, His passion and death have their high part to play. But we must not fancy that they in any way affect God and stand in any sense in His sight as a reason or ground of His acceptance of our persons. "The death of Christ is an essentially moral act, the significance and value of which proceed solely from the spiritual life and the feeling of love which it reveals" (p. 110). "The cross is the expiation for sins only because it is the cause of repentance to which remission is promised" (p. 127); and there is no other atonement than this repentance (p. 127). Jesus is, then, only in a modified sense our Saviour. Indeed, though He has done what He did supremely, what He did has no uniqueness about it,—it is in kind no other than what many others than Himself have done and are still doing. "The work of Christ ceases, then, to be isolated and incomprehensible" (p. 131); "the sufferings and death of the righteous and of the good operate in the same way as the passion of Christ upon the conscience of the wicked: which signifies that they help to produce that state of repentance in which the forgiveness of sins and the work of salvation devised by the divine mercy may be realized" (p. 133). Not merely Paul then, who claims (Col. i. 24) a part in this work, "to the scandal of all future orthodoxies" (p. 133), but "all God's servants" have stood by the side of Jesus, as along with Him and in the same sense (though not in the same degree) in which He is, our Saviours. Christianity thus emerges before us "as the religion of universal redemption by love" (p. 134).

The point that ultimately focuses our attention as we read Prof. Sabatier's

exposition emerges in this last declaration. Christianity, we are told, is the religion "of universal redemption by love." *Whose* love? Even the old Socinianism would reply, as a matter of course, God's love. Not so Prof. Sabatier. With him, it is everybody's love. He has, in a word, transmuted Christianity into bald Altruism; in his soteriological theory he has substituted the universe of sentient creatures for God and His Christ. Such, he tells us, "are the authentic data of the Christian consciousness": and with this he would stop. The deeper basis he declines to probe. "But if the philosophic mind would go further and ask whence proceeds this supreme law of the moral world which has made self-denial, disinterested self-sacrifice and brotherly love the ransom of sin and the means of its progressive destruction, we may well be led to confess our inability to answer" (p. 131). Perhaps, then, the reader may be excused if he takes leave to doubt whether there is any justification in reason or Scripture for representing "brotherly love" as "the ransom of sin"—especially if his own Christian consciousness (taught, no doubt, by the Scriptural declarations) declines to add its seal to it. If we are to rest on an *ipse dixit* we may without offense, perhaps, prefer the *ipse dixit* of our Lord Himself (Matt. xx. 21) and of the Apostle Paul (1 Tim. ii. 6, Titus ii. 14) that our Lord is Himself our Ransom, because He has given His life for us.

Prof. Sabatier's new Christianity has too much the appearance of old infidelity to attract us. And when he tells us that it is only in some such form as this that Christianity can hope to persist in the conditions of modern culture—the watchword of which is "autonomy"—we should be dull indeed if we did not apprehend that the meaning of this, translated into terms of more brutal frankness, is simply that there is no place for Christianity in the modern world. "Altruism"—yes, we may wonderingly admit that altruism works and on a basis of pragmatism may find a place for itself, though we are at a loss for an ultimate justification of it to "reason." But "Christianity"—well, certainly as Christianity has been heretofore understood (except by the Socinians and Rationalists), there can be no place for it. Do not the eighteen centuries of this "heteronomic" Christianity which have been lived out in the world, then, give an indication that it too "works"? And are we so sure that it will not find a justification for itself in "reason"—provided that "reason" has not been hopelessly warped by too great hospitality to the assaults of Socinian and Rationalistic criticism? The fact is that the *ipse dixit* of Prof. Sabatier weighs no more than that of Faustus Socinus or of Julius Wegscheider, and we see no reason for listening in him to what we should pay no attention to in them.

Princeton.

BENJ. B. WARFIELD.

THE LIFE EVERLASTING. Studies in the Subject of the Future. By Rev. DAVID PURVES, M.A. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1905. Imported by Charles Scribner's Sons, New York. Price, \$1.50 net.

Mr. Purves, as he tells us in his Preface, has sought to subserve a threefold end in these studies in the doctrine of Immortality—an Apologetical, an Expository and a Practical one. Perhaps the practical purpose has proved dominant. The book is, above all, a preacher's book, and is informed with all the fervor of spirit which should characterize a faithful preacher's presentation of a theme lying so close to life. There are passages in it which rise very close to eloquence, and nowhere is a note struck which would be out of place in the pulpit. But it is equally clear that the book is the work of a preacher who is also very much of a humanist and something also of a student. If there are passages which are not free from the natural exaggeration of popular address bent on carrying home an impression; and if now and then these exaggerations raise the query whether part will

fit perfectly with part, and the inference lies close that the book has been in some degree put together from fragments written at intervals and not thoroughly harmonized when brought together; yet a fine vein of high thinking and a rich coloring of good reading run through the whole and its total message is distinctly true, elevating and inspiring.

The essence of the book's teaching lies in its first two parts, the former of which is entitled "The Life Everlasting," and the latter "The Resurrection." Indeed it might be said that it is practically given in the former of these two parts, in which it is solidly argued that the life everlasting is foreshadowed in the Old Testament, was brought to light by Christ, and rests on the resurrection of Jesus. In the latter of these two first sections the meaning of the Christian doctrine of the future life is explained and enforced, as involving the immortality of the whole man, to support which the nature of death as the penalty of sin and the ethical significance of resurrection are insisted upon. The two closing parts of the book, entitled respectively "The Future Life" and "Immortality in Literature," may be regarded as appendices to the earlier parts. In the former of these the future life is presented with rich homiletical skill as a victory of faith, a triumph of love, and a conquest of hope—a triplicate of allegorical pictures by G. F. Watts (as expounded by Dr. Hugh Macmillan) being utilized in illustration of these three aspects. In the latter, the attitude of science, the verdict of philosophy and the language of poetry (as illustrated by Tennyson and Browning) are briefly adduced.

The doctrine which Mr. Purves teaches is good doctrine. There is a modernity in the manner in which he presents it which is in general very engaging and distinctly adds to the charm of the book. Occasionally, however, he is betrayed by this modernity of point of view into modes of expression which are scarcely consonant with his general attitude of dependence on the Word of God—on the resurrection message of which, indeed, he grounds his entire confidence in immortality. For example, he has caught the modern habit of speaking currently of the Bible as the record rather of human thought than of divine revelation. We hear more of the attainment of the conviction of immortality by Old Testament saints (*e.g.*, p. 16) than of the revelation of it to them by God: more of Paul's processes of excogitation of doctrine than of the divine revelation of truth to him (pp. 100, 102).

Mr. Purves has made an evident effort to reflect the results of modern critical study of the Bible. But he has not kept quite abreast of the movements of critical opinion—a thing, no doubt, rather difficult to do, in the constant librations which recent criticism presents to view. His interesting apologetical arguments are, therefore, keyed to meet an assault somewhat moribund at the moment—though no doubt they will not be the less useful on that account to the audience they are likely to find. And his incidental allusions to critical opinion are apt to smack of conditions which have passed. Thus, for example, he remarks (p. 42) that "criticism does not dispute" the First Epistle to the Corinthians. That is the way we used to talk when it was the Tübingen criticism that we had in view. But the Tübingen criticism is now out of date, and there is no epistle of Paul's which "criticism does not dispute": and the grounds on which "criticism disputes" them do not differ radically in the several cases. We must face the fact that the regnant criticism leaves us no New Testament, and that it is coming to be more and more clearly seen that on the principles which have been "validated" by current criticism—in the Old and New Testament alike—it ought to leave us no New Testament, or, of course, Old Testament either. The choice, in a word, must ultimately be between no Bible and the whole Bible; and the sooner it becomes apparent to us all that this is the fact, the sooner will we escape from the obsession of "criticism." Again Mr. Purves tells us (p. 3) that "the critical spirit

of modern times in its extreme form" "denies that the doctrine of immortality exists in the Old Testament even in germ." He is thinking again of a criticism that is growing old and near to vanishing away. The more recent forms of Old Testament criticism think of nothing so little as denying that the Israelites believed in the immortality of the soul. They wish to account for the religion of Israel either in accordance with Mr. Tylor's theory that all religion is rooted in a primitive animism or in accordance with Mr. Spencer's theory that all religion is an outgrowth of a primitive ancestor-worship; or, if they are not so ambitious as to ascend to ultimate origins, they at least wish with Panbabylonism to account for Israel's religion as an inheritance from Babylonia. And in each case they need to find, and accordingly do find, multitudinous traces of belief in immortality in Israel from the very earliest stage of Israel's development. Mr. Purves' exposition, therefore, of traces of a doctrine of immortality in the Old Testament will seem half-hearted to the most recent critics. Stade, Oort, Schwally, Marti, Matthes, will give him "pointers" here that will go far beyond his timid following of the timid leading of Dr. Davidson. The man who has the fear of the critics before his eyes will need, in these days, to publish his allusions to them quickly, or haply he will find the critics far ahead of him before he can get into print.

In illustration of what is probably homiletical exaggeration we may adduce such sentences as those in which Paul is asserted not to teach "the literal resurrection of the body that has been committed to the dust" (p. 44); or as those in which it is suggested that "undoubtedly there is a strain in St. Paul's teaching which seems to point the way" of "what is called 'conditional immortality'" (p. 83); or as those in which the term "spiritual organism" is preferred to "bodily presence" in describing our Lord's appearances (p. 101), and the phrase "flesh and blood cannot inherit the kingdom of God" is quoted to prove that "the present material body" of which "these are the two main elements" can have "nothing to do with the future of the kingdom of God" (p. 103). The doctrinal errors seemingly hinted in these and similar statements are fully guarded against elsewhere. For example, in the latter part of the volume, the idea of "conditional immortality" is scouted as it deserves. And almost immediately after the suggestion that Paul may know nothing of any other resurrection than that of the just, we are told that his silence as to the resurrection of the wicked is only "almost" (pp. 83, 84; cf. 109-110). In such sentences we have, therefore, only a certain fumbling in dealing with doctrine. Another illustration of this is, perhaps, to be found in the remarks on "fact" and "theory" regarding the Atonement, which are incidentally let fall on pp. 128-130. Perhaps the true account of all such flaws is that the book has been put together from material sometimes somewhat hastily wrought out to meet the clamant demands of the pulpit, and the revising hand has not been perfectly successful in removing the traces of this haste. If so, we may hope that in a second edition the work of revision will be made more thorough. In this second edition we hope also that the unpleasant remarks *apropos* the "imprecatory Psalms" (pp. 13-14) may be modified, the wrong interpretation (as it seems to us) of "baptism for the dead" (pp. 84-85) may be corrected, and the whole account of the Old Testament foreshadowing of immortality—which is nevertheless one of the most suggestive parts of the book—may be better adjusted to the facts of the case. In the adduction of the reasons for the comparative silence of the Old Testament on immortality, by the way, Mr. Purves, while dwelling on some of great importance and developing them sympathetically, seems to us to miss the main one: the necessity, to wit, of impressing on the consciousness of the Old Testament saints a poignant sense that death is the penalty for sin. Possibly he was prevented seeing this in its true light because of his

bad habit of looking at the development of doctrine in the Old Testament *sub specie temporis*. Nevertheless, the solution of the whole problem lies in it.

We have read Mr. Purves' volume with keen pleasure. Not only is there much in it of the most inspiring nature, but the volume as a whole bears this character. It is the truth that it essays to teach, and it commends this truth powerfully and winningly. That it is not free from flaws we have pointed out: but it may easily be freed from these flaws and thus be made more purely what it is in any case fundamentally—a good and strong book on an important section of vital truth.

Princeton.

BENJ. B. WARFIELD.

THE ETHICS OF THE CHRISTIAN LIFE; or, The Science of Right Living. By HENRY E. ROBINS, D.D., LL.D., Sometime President of Colby University and Professor of Christian Ethics in the Rochester Theological Seminary. Philadelphia: Griffith & Rowland Press, 1904. 8vo; pp. xviii, 488.

In the words of the venerated author, "the central thought of this treatise is that Christian life is the highest mode of moral life of which man is capable, and is distinguished from lower forms of ethical life by its own characteristic manifestations. But the Christian is a man; on the basis of his manhood a nobler manhood is developed through the work of the Holy Spirit. The Christian life, therefore, does not replace, it rather exalts, the natural moral life of man. Since this is so, we find the source of our knowledge of ethical facts and principles, in the first instance, in the normal constitution of man, then, in the experience of Christians, and, thirdly, in the Holy Scriptures as bringing the believer into vital relation to Christ, whose moral life flows into those who are there by a living bond united to Him, a life of whose proper development the Holy Scriptures are the norm."

The discussion the trend of which is thus given is developed under three heads: "the Nature, the Scope, and the Method of the Application of the Principles of the Christian Life." The Nature of Christian Ethics is considered under two heads: the Nature of the Moral Agent and the Nature of Moral Action. Under the first head an analysis of man as a moral agent is attempted. Under the second the three elements of moral action, the good, duty and virtue, or, as our author prefers, the end, the law and the motive of obligatory conduct, are discussed. "As to the Scope of the Ethics of the Christian Life, it is maintained that its principles are radical and revolutionary, contemplating nothing less than a reconstruction from the root of human character, individual and social, in all departments of thought and action. In a word, it contemplates the establishment of the kingdom of God among men." "As to the Method of Christian Ethics it is maintained that while, as has been said, the principles are radical and revolutionary, the application of them is biological rather than mechanical, evolutionary rather than catastrophic, constructive rather than anarchistic." In all this development "the supreme aim of the author is to contribute something, however humble the contribution may be, to a right apprehension of the relation of the principles of vital Christianity to a proper solution of the urgent practical ethical questions of our time." This, in the judgment of Dr. Robins, is "a matter of supreme moment." The world so regards it, and this "puts upon those who are assured that ethics can perfect itself only in religion, that Christianity alone holds the key to the solution of the social problems pressing for determination with ever-increasing inquiry, a duty which cannot be evaded, to utter in clear and earnest tones their conviction, and their reasons for it, and, so far as they may be able, guide the on-sweeping current into salutary channels."

The book thus barely outlined has many and high merits:

1. Its aim. Nothing except the gift of the power of the Holy Spirit for righteousness could be so needed as a clear exhibition of the relation of Christian Ethics to social problems, and this gift may not be expected by a Church which does not try to make such an exhibition. It was through the truth that our Lord prayed that His disciples might be sanctified.

2. The ethics presented is distinctly and avowedly Biblical. Our author would not accept Rübiger's definition in the *Theological Encyclopedia of Christian Ethics* as "the science of the moral life determined by the Spirit of God." On the contrary, while he recognizes the "Christian ethical consciousness" and, indeed, the common ethical consciousness of the race as legitimate and important sources of ethical knowledge, he regards and emphasizes the Scriptures as "the sole final authority in morals," because they constitute the supreme revelation of the mind and will of God whose nature is the ground of obligation. This position is maintained continually and consistently throughout the volume. While the writer is often at pains to evince the reasonableness of his propositions, he invariably ascribes their claim on us to a "Thus saith the Lord"; and the extent to which he has done this appears in the very long but well-arranged "index of Scripture texts" at the close of the book. In this, as in several other respects, the treatise under review is in refreshing contrast with many of the similar publications of to-day.

3. The dependence of ethics on dogmatics is insisted on with rare consistency and force. Our author is not one of the many who would seem to believe that the life of Christ is independent of the truth of Christ, that the fruits of grace can be developed though not rooted in the doctrines of grace. On the contrary, as he finds in God's nature the ground of obligation and in His will the rule of duty; so, in his view, the requirements of the Christian life and character are what they are because of what God is and has done. Christian ethics, indeed, is related to Christian dogmatics as its end. God has revealed the truth concerning Himself for His glory in our moral likeness to Himself. "Every Scripture is inspired of God, and profitable for teaching, for reproof, for correction, for instruction which is in righteousness: that the man of God may be complete, furnished completely unto every good work" (2 Tim. iii. 16, 17).

4. The supreme revelation of God, both as the ground and the rule of duty, is "Christ crucified." This is vindicated with gratifying clearness and force. "God as Creator, Providential Ruler, and Redeemer, in His relation to sinful man is adequately known only in Jesus Christ crucified. No moral recovery is possible save through Him." "He is the only key to the problem presented by the confusion of moral distinctions prevailing in the world." In view of the moral disorder of our nature wrought by sin, we cannot believe in God, as under no circumstances could we have seen Him as He is, save as we behold Him in the face of Jesus Christ, "the lamb slain" on account of our sins "from before the foundation of the world." In a word, the cross of Christ is as necessary to God's moral vindication as it is to our moral salvation.

5. The law revealed and vindicated by Christ crucified is not a supplementary requirement resting only on external authority. Though it demands many particular duties which could not have been inferred from human nature alone, its primary obligations are all implicit in humanity. "It is a common and pernicious error to think of the two great commandments coming down upon us with external authority simply, so that they may be disobeyed with impunity if one does not believe in God or His Word or His moral government over men, whereas the truth is that the commandments which Christ uttered are but an exegesis of the law of the immanent Lawgiver written indelibly in the constitution of the human soul. Let us never weary of repeating that Christ in His character as

teacher did not enact, but uncover to our apprehension, moral law. In declaring it He simply made us known to ourselves."

6. As might be expected from his dogmatic position, our author has no sympathy with the dangerous tendencies of modern thought. Thus he clearly sets forth the trend and exposes the weakness of idealistic monism. He strips materialistic evolution of all its vagueness; he brings before us unclothed and unvarnished the notions by which it must stand or fall; and in so doing, he furnishes its best and its sufficient refutation. As to the Satanic origin of sin, consequently, he comes out strongly. "Sin is by no means a mere trace of animalism, but an infusion of diabolism, wholly alien to the nature of man as he came from the hand of his Creator. Any theory which fails to take this dark fact into account cannot command acceptance either in the light of the testimony of the Scriptures or the witness of human experience." The reality and responsibility of the individual also is vigorously insisted on. The question for each man is, "What is my individual mission?" and no two individuals have precisely the same mission. Specially good is the sharpness with which the field of the Church is defined. Her office is to teach religion, not sociology. She has a social mission, and this is of supreme importance; but to fulfill it she must be true to her distinctive mission as the teacher of religion. Hence, "she must not invade the sphere of individual duty"; she must not "attempt the solution of social problems"; she must make her members what they should be, but may leave it to them to do what they ought to do and to fashion society as it ought to be. So, too, our author has no sympathy with the idea that virtue is or could be self-sufficient. For ethical culture by itself he has no use. His moral scheme demands the omnipotence of the Holy Spirit. In these respects, as in many others, he has given us in the volume under review a strong correction of the false tendencies of our day.

7. Attention should also be called to the special excellence of his book in what may be termed the distinctive sphere of Christian ethics. Thus the law of trusteeship is admirably expounded. Man is a trustee by virtue both of creation and of redemption. Hence, the duty of self-development. Hence, the duty of imitating Christ. Hence, the admirable discussion of the sense in which He is imitable. "Duty to Self" is followed by "Duty to Society"; this, by "Duty to Nature"; and this, by "Duty to God." This whole section is of such interest and excellence that it is difficult to particularize. The consideration of our relations to the State and to Nature are, however, of striking merit. The old but often forgotten doctrine is set forth, that "government is an ordinance of God"; and also the Scriptural but seldom appreciated position is maintained, that nature *ought* to be "subdued" for God's glory.

8. Nor is the work under review without excellencies when regarded strictly from the standpoint of philosophical ethics. The introductory chapter on "The Definitions and Sources" of Ethics and of Christian Ethics is singularly clear. The analysis of the appetences native to man is exceedingly satisfactory and suggestive. The discussion of "Conscience" as "the self passing judgment upon its conformity or non-conformity in character and conduct to the law of its being," the law expressed in the appetences just considered, is as clear as it is true. The criticism of the "Goods" theory and the "Duty" theory of morals seems to us just and illuminating. "To say that I must act in a certain way simply because it is my duty, giving me no *reason* why it is my duty, requires me to act irrationally, and so to do violence to my personality; while to say that I must act in a certain way because it gives me satisfaction to do so makes me to be the sport of mere impulse, that is, to act irrationally as before, and so to do violence to my personality." It is only when we explain both the good and the right as what He who is Himself absolute holiness requires that the demands of reason can be met.

9. Finally, the Griffith and Rowland Press has surpassed even itself in the excellence of the make-up of Dr. Robins' book. It has only to be opened to lie open; its paper is soft; its type is clear; its page is well ordered; the proof-reading has been faultless.

On the other hand, however, the reviewer is compelled to make some exceptions:

1. Many topics are but mentioned, or are even passed over, which one would expect to find discussed in a treatise so comprehensive as this. Thus there is no study of the Decalogue as a whole, not to speak of any consideration of the many and intensely interesting and practical questions which grow out of the application of each one of the Ten Commandments to the conditions of modern life. For example, the ethics of war, of divorce, of gambling, of mental reservation, not to mention more, receive no treatment. So, too, there is no reference to the principles which should determine the Christian with respect to things morally indifferent. Doubtless, this is a result of what may be regarded as the chief excellence of the book. It discusses so fully the relation of ethics to theology that too little opportunity is left for the consideration of such subjects as have just been named. The latter, however, is none the less a defect that it may be explained in this way. The foundation is indispensable to a building, but that does not warrant such an expenditure on the foundation that the building itself cannot be erected.

2. The foundation in this case is itself not above criticism. For example, it is rightly held that if God is to be the ethical ground and standard, He Himself must be vindicated ethically. Hence, three positions must be taken with reference to the application of salvation which to us seem to be neither sound nor necessary.

a. It is intimated that the heathen who have never heard the Gospel can be saved on account of Christ's redemptive work, but without the Gospel. Why, then, does Paul write: "Whosoever shall call upon the name of the Lord shall be saved. How then shall they call on him in whom they have not believed? and how shall they believe in him of whom they have not heard? and how shall they hear without a preacher? and how shall they preach except they be sent?" (Rom. x. 13-15). Moreover, if it is for their violation of the "law written on their hearts," and not for their ignorance of the Gospel, that the heathen are under condemnation, on what ground can it be urged that they must be saved without the Gospel? Only on the ground that salvation is no more "of grace but of debt," and this is as unreasonable as it is unscriptural.

b. Again, it is urged that if infants dying in infancy may be saved, those who have become so debased and hardened in vice as to choose evil without "personal choice" may be saved as if they were infants. This, however, overlooks the radical difference between the two classes. Infants, because infants, lack the capacity to believe. Hence, they may be held responsible for unbelief no more than a man may be blamed for not reading who has lost his eyesight. With degenerates it is far otherwise. The root of their inability to believe is moral. They have the capacity to believe, but they lack the heart or disposition to believe. Now a man is responsible for his heart or disposition. The worst thing about a man is that his heart is so hard and depraved that he cannot, because he will not, choose rightly. Nor is his choice less personal that he cannot choose rightly. For that very reason is it an infallible expression of his character. Hence, if God did base His judgment solely on personal choice, and not, as He teaches us, on the heart, no difficulty would be presented. When the power of righteous choice is lost the choice is as free, as personal, as much by the person and in accordance with the person, as before. The *roué* and the saint are equally free and responsible.

c. It is asserted that "for all men there must be such an inworking of the saving grace of God that the new terms of salvation are in some real, not merely formal, sense within their power." That is, since all men, because "dead through trespasses and sins," cannot, because they will not, appreciate and accept the offered salvation, "sufficient grace" must be given to all to reverse their wills. This is true, if salvation must be conditioned on the will of sinful man instead of being, as the Scriptures declare, the free gift of the *grace* of the absolutely sovereign God. If, however, God be thus subjected to man, as the Arminian position of our author requires, how can God be the absolute ethical ground and standard? Thus this endeavor to vindicate the righteousness of God results only in doing away with the ground and standard of righteousness. In the interest of ethics, it renders ethics impossible.

Princeton.

WILLIAM BRENTON GREENE, JR.

THE IDEA AND REALITY OF REVELATION, AND TYPICAL FORMS OF CHRISTIANITY.

Two Lectures by HANS HINRICH WENDT, PH.D., D.D., Professor of Theology, University of Jena. London: Philip Green, 1904. Pp. 91.

These two lectures were delivered in May of last year to English audiences and in the English language. The first was given in London upon the invitation of the Committee of the British and Foreign Unitarian Association, and the second in Manchester College, Oxford, on the foundation of the Hibbert Trust.

In the first lecture it is held that God reveals Himself by means of certain facts in the world rather than through a direct communication of truth to the intellect. Revelation, then, always involves two elements: facts in the world through which the knowledge of God is imparted, and the peculiar mental process through which the spiritual meaning of the facts is grasped. The facts of revelation are not specially those miraculous incidents by means of which, it was previously held, truths about God were conveyed or authenticated, nor is an exclusive place to be given even to Jesus Christ Himself, although His character and ministry "demonstrate to us in overwhelming fashion the gracious saving will of God"; for, says Wendt, here going beyond the Ritschlians generally, "we have no right to exalt certain single incidents or personalities as special revelations of God." Since God is active in all the operations of nature and the facts of history, "we must treat the whole existence and course of the world as the fact through which God reveals Himself." This is the view, it is said, which is to be "approved from the Christian standpoint." But it is difficult to see how a view which forbids us to exalt "certain single incidents or personalities" as special vehicles of revelation is to be reconciled with any interpretation of the synoptic passage to which Wendt himself alludes ("Neither doth any know the Father save the Son," etc., Matt. xi. 27; cf. Luke x. 22), and we are not surprised to find that the lecturer himself qualifies his earlier statement in the sequel. It is there said that the revelation in Jesus Christ is the "highest" and the "supreme" revelation, and that "the subsequent revelation of God in the Christian Church is not designed to take the place of or supplement the revelation in Jesus Christ, but to help us to understand" it.

To the intellectual act in which we learn about God, through the mediation of the facts, the name of "intuition" is given. This is a mysterious though not miraculous process akin to the creative activity of poets and artists; and while it always involves a psychological preparation, the new insight is not to be explained fully by the previous conditions. The new enlightenment often comes in moments of ecstasy or prophetic vision, but the ecstatic state is not necessary to its occurrence. The new ideas gained through intuition are not necessarily true, but must be tested by the facts of experience.

What place is to be assigned to Jesus as the receiver and as the vehicle of revelation? According to Wendt, His knowledge is not to be thought of as a "miraculous knowledge of God brought with Him out of His preëxistence," but was due to His power of religious intuition, which, though possessed by Him in the highest degree, "is possessed also by others, and is in no kind of opposition to the ordinary development of human mental life." As the revealer of God Jesus gave us His teaching, but alongside of this is to be placed the fact—not one fact among many, but "the most important of all"—of His moral and religious personality. But here again the moral power of Jesus "is not foreign to the nature of man. In greater or less degree we find it in all men." The total impression we gain from Wendt's discussion of the place of Jesus in revelation is that neither in His character nor in the sources of His knowledge does He differ from us except in degree, and it would seem to be quite possible for a man to-day to live as "a pure, true child of God, faithful unto death," and so to be "anointed with the fullness of the divine Spirit" even as Jesus was.

In the second lecture, given at Oxford, the lecturer seeks to show "how modern Protestant theologians in Germany, especially those who have learnt of Albrecht Ritschl and Adolf Harnack, conceive the historical development of Christianity, and in what direction they seek to influence its further progress." Without following strictly the lines either of denominational cleavage or of chronological development, Wendt distinguishes eight separate types of Christianity: the superstitious (vulgar Catholicism), the dualistic (Gnosticism), the enthusiastic or chiliastic, the mystical, the orthodox forensic, the rationalistic, the Augustinian and the "Gospel" types. The discussion of these forms of Christian thought is most acute and suggestive with illustrations from the whole range of church history, and the author shows a keen appreciation both of the merits and defects of the types discussed. The reader, though, will be apt to feel that no one of these typical forms—not even the last—is broad enough to be synonymous with essential or primitive Christianity. It is admitted, indeed, that personalities like Augustine and Luther, who stand as representatives of a certain type, "show great inconsistencies in carrying it out." Luther is named as representing the "Gospel" type, but is said to have been much influenced by Augustinianism and mysticism. By the "Gospel type" of Christianity is meant the Christianity of Jesus. It is exemplified most perfectly in the first epistle of John, and is realized when Christian life and thought "are governed by the idea of the Fatherhood of God and the aspiration after divine sonship," and "when the significance of salvation by Jesus Christ is found in his revelation, as perfect Son of God, of God's fatherly love, and in the powerful impulses which He has exerted on men to draw them into this blessed sonship." Perhaps the Augustinian and the Gospel types might be united, the Augustinian sense of sin being regarded as normally a moment in the process through which the richer experiences of the Gospel type are to be realized. If Christianity, in Browning's phrase, "taught original sin, the corruption of man's heart," and if in Jesus there was no consciousness of sin—and we believe that this is the lecturer's view—then the moral difference between Jesus and us may be held to be one of kind rather than of degree, and, in that case, less hesitation than is shown in the first of these lectures will be felt in assigning to Him a unique position as the Revealer of God.

The English style in both lectures is excellent, and in the second particularly there are many striking and quotable sentences.

Lincoln University, Pa.

WM. HALLOCK JOHNSON.

THE ATONEMENT AND MODERN THOUGHT. By REV. JUNIUS B. REMENSNYDER, D.D., LL.D. With an Introduction by Prof. BENJAMIN B. WARFIELD, D.D., LL.D., of Princeton Theological Seminary. Philadelphia: Lutheran Publication Society, 1905. Pp. 223.

In this book Dr. Remensnyder has attempted to set forth and defend the satisfaction doctrine of the atonement, *i.e.*, the doctrine that the atonement was a satisfaction to divine justice, and that Christ made this satisfaction by taking the law place of the sinner, bearing the penalty of his sin, and thus expiating its guilt. Dr. Remensnyder, we believe, is on Scriptural ground when he defends "the objective efficacy" of the atonement, when he affirms that Christ did actually suffer the punishment of sin, when he sets forth the fundamental position in the Christian system of this doctrine, and when he asserts that the incarnation was in order to the atonement. In regard to this latter point, however, we think that he scarcely does justice to the Scripture idea of the relation of the incarnation to sin when he says (p. 77): "*In all probability* (*italics are mine*) the Son of God would never have become incarnate but for the purpose of the atonement."

We cannot follow the author in all his statements. He is writing from the Lutheran standpoint, and consequently takes some positions from which we are compelled to dissent. For example, Dr. Remensnyder's conception of the "universality of the atonement" is not only based upon a misinterpretation of the universalistic passages of Scripture, but is also inconsistent with the idea of its nature and substitutive character as set forth by Dr. Remensnyder himself. Also his affirmation of the doctrine of future probation, we cannot but think, is due to the exigencies of his Lutheranism, rather than to an unbiased exegesis. In fact, were we to go into details, we should be compelled to dissent from much of Dr. Remensnyder's exegesis and from a number of his doctrinal positions.

Dr. Warfield has written an able introduction to the book.

Princeton.

C. W. HODGE.

VI.—PRACTICAL THEOLOGY.

THE PAST A PROPHECY OF THE FUTURE, AND OTHER SERMONS. By the Rev. S. H. KELLOGG, D.D., LL.D. London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1904. 8vo; pp. viii. 390.

Dr. Kellogg's fine career in India and America as a learned and devoted missionary and professor of Systematic Theology has almost hidden from his friends and the other readers of his books in the United States his fine career as a preacher. His only pastorate in this country was brief. Less than a year after his installation as pastor of the Third Church of Pittsburgh he was called to the chair of Systematic Theology in the Western Theological Seminary. In Canada, however, as pastor of St. James' Church, Toronto, he made his pulpit eminent by his strong, thoroughly wrought, Biblical and evangelical discourses. Since his death his friends, especially those in India and Canada, have urged the publication of a selection of his parish sermons. This selection constitutes the volume under notice. It contains twenty-five sermons. All are on great subjects. Every one is carefully planned and ably written. All are suffused with strong Christian emotion. Dr. Kellogg's enthusiastic temper reappears on every page. So does his deep conviction of the reality of the supernatural, the truth of the Bible and the harmony between the Bible and the Reformed Theology. Several

discourses set forth with great clearness and force his eschatological conclusions and their ground in his interpretation of Scripture.

The selection is an admirable one, and represents as well as such a selection can Dr. Kellogg's intellectual versatility and the variety of his Christian interests. This appears in the table of contents. Some of the topics are "The Past a Prophecy of the Future," "The Natural and the Spiritual Body," "The Reasonableness of Miracle," "The Difficulties of Unbelief," "The Childlike Spirit," "The Supreme Place of Faith," "The Testimony of Christ to Himself," "The Sanctification of the Believer," "Forewarnings of the Second Advent," "The Signs of the Second Advent," "The Blessed Hope." Where all are of the first rate, it is hard to select any sermons for special notice. To the writer of this notice it seems clear that Dr. Kellogg must have made as profound an impression by his apologetic discourses as by any preserved in the volume. The sermons on "The Reasonableness of Miracle" and "The Difficulties of Unbelief," considered with reference to their aim, namely, to defend Christianity against specific objections before a popular audience, are so admirable in matter and spirit that they might well be studied as models.

Altogether, the volume more than fulfills the remarkable promise made by Dr. Kellogg's discourses when a student in Princeton Theological Seminary. The writer remembers the deep impression made on all who heard it by Mr. Kellogg's "Senior year sermon" delivered in the old oratory. There was a unanimous call by his classmates for its publication. It was accepted by the Board of Publication and had a long life of usefulness as one of the Board's tracts. Of course, those who heard him preach, as they read the volume, will miss even while they recall his engaging personality. But the sermons themselves, apart from the preacher, are sermons of exceptional vitality and power; and therefore, besides being a memorial of a noble Christian scholar, teacher, missionary and preacher, they will continue for years to speak for him to a larger audience than during his lifetime he addressed, the great message he delivered with the enthusiasm born of large knowledge and profound conviction.

Princeton.

JOHN DE WITT.

NEW FORCES IN OLD CHINA. By ARTHUR JUDSON BROWN. New York, Chicago, Toronto: Fleming H. Revell Co., 1904. 8vo; pp. 370.

The author is Secretary of the Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions, having special charge of its missions in China. Talent and inclination for historical studies; a genius for compiling facts, opinions and statistics; wide knowledge of China through reading, touch with missionaries and other representatives of the East; years of grappling with Eastern conditions and problems as involved in the administration of missions; a recent tour of Asia in the interests of missions, including some months in China, which gave him introduction to large numbers of persons of various grades and classes whom he was keen to intelligently observe and interrogate, are his equipment for dealing with the large theme which his title presents.

The Preface informs us that the book grew out of lectures delivered in the annual course on missions in the Princeton Theological Seminary, which has borne fruitage in so many notable books on missions, and that articles prepared for various magazines have been incorporated in it. The matter is distributed under five heads: Old China and Its People, the Commercial Force and the Economic Revolution, the Political Force and the National Protest, the Missionary Force and the Chinese Church, the Future of China and Our Relations to It. Under these heads very various sub-themes are presented.

There are evident characteristic defects. The composite character interferes with real unity. Much of the first part, for example, giving delightful accounts

of the incidents of travel, is not really pertinent to the theme and falls below the standard of statesmanlike discussion which is shown in other parts of the book. The statistics, especially in the second part, are too diffuse and often too far afield. Errors of statement, such as a brief sojourner in a strange land is almost sure to make, are numerous. The style is often too oratorical for sober discussion; upon controverted points the force of the testimony offered is weakened by the fervor of its advocacy. The good points of the book are much more evident. Dr. Brown writes good English, and is keen of wit, and every page is entertaining. The errors in details are insignificant compared with the immense number of facts accurately presented, and the portraiture of China those who know her recognize as true to life. The reader is brought into broad and sympathetic acquaintance with the present movement and crisis of affairs in the Orient, the problems of statecraft, the questions of mission administration, and the progress and promise of missionary enterprise. The isolated facts that the reader has heard and half forgotten, together with a larger or smaller number that are new to him, are marshaled so that he sees their mutual bearing and combined significance; his vision is enlarged and with reason for the faith that is in him, he comes to share his author's enthusiasm over the potentialities of the Chinese people and his assurance that they are the stuff out of which glorious Christians and a steadfast Christian civilization are being and shall be made.

Princeton, N. J.

PAUL MARTIN.

MY LITTLE BOOK OF PRAYER. By MINNIE STRODE. Chicago: The Open Court Publishing Co., 1905. 12mo.

This is a little book—little pages, little on a page, little prayers and little in the prayers. And yet it is a useful book—useful in displaying the barrenness of that Chicago product, “the religion of science,” of which the Open Court is the organ. Prayer is adjudged a true gauge of the religion which a man professes. It is the resultant of one's faith and vision of the unseen. This religion results in such prayers as these first three: “I will ask no other anointing save this—to draw very near to my own soul.” “I may not overcome the inevitable, but O, it is mine to see that the inevitable does not overcome me.” “I prayed for deliverance, and to prove the efficacy of my prayer I became my own deliverer.” Or further typical examples from later pages may be offered, such as “I will not pray that each day be a perfect day, but I will pray to lapse not to indifference”; or, “I will not pray for strength. Dear Heaven, I am a Hercules of disseminated force.” The most of these so-called prayers that are addressed anywhere are addressed to the prayer's own soul, but sometimes to men, sometimes to “Dear Heaven,” sometimes to Fate, and in rare instances to God, as “May God forgive your weakness—but let Him damn mine.” The “religion of science” is the elimination of the supernatural, the denial of revelation and devotion to naturalism carried to its logical conclusion, and these husks are the fruit. And yet the idea is common that it does not matter much what a man's creed or theology is, so he is earnest. For those who are so foolish the perusal of this book might be beneficial.

Princeton.

PAUL MARTIN.

DUX CHRISTUS. An Outline Study of Japan. By WILLIAM ELLIOT GRIFFIS. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1904. 8vo, pp. 296. Paper bound, 30 cents.

Via Christi, Lux Christi, Rex Christus, Dux Christus are the names of the manuals prepared by various authors under the auspices of the Central Committee of the Women's Boards on the United Study of Missions. Presumably the series will be continued until all the mission lands are covered, and the naming of the

volumes is the work of the committee. There was a measure of appropriateness in *Via Christi* as the title of a Study of Missions from Paul to Carey, though this failed to indicate the nature of the book. Sentiment got the better of judgment when the blind titles *Lux Christi* and *Rex Christus* were given to books on India and China, and it is a real disappointment to find Dr. Griffis' book on Japan burdened with a new permutation of these titles. We enter a plea for the abandonment of the conceit in the future volumes of the series. The intention is evidently to honor the Christ. As a matter of fact, it grates upon Christian sensibility to have the sacred name put to the common use which the exigencies of the book trade require, and dulls the reverence of those in the trade who must handle the titles familiarly. The intention and the result are parallel, in a measure, to the use of *Corpus Christi* as a geographical name. With the lengthening series the titles are more and more undistinguishable, and they hinder the widest usefulness of the books. Just now, for example, people are looking for books on Japan. Nowhere else, perhaps, is more of Japan, past, present and future, compacted into readable pages than in the little book before us; but ordinary readers are not likely to discover that *Dux Christus* is the book they are looking for, and the opportunity to see Japan from the point of view of Dr. Griffis and the kingdom of God is lost.

Dr. Griffis has done his work well. He speaks whereof he knows and loves to write. He conforms himself to the series plan without losing his individuality or literary style. He passes the history, characteristics, religions and missions of Japan under review. He is an admirer of Japan and expects great things of her. But he sees her faults and is frank to express them and give warning of their results unless they are abandoned. The book should have a wide reading in Japan. Full credit is given to the old religions and to recent experiments in civilization for their achievements, but vital Christianity is shown to be the only salvation for Japan.

Princeton.

PAUL MARTIN.

WHAT EVERY CHRISTIAN NEEDS TO KNOW. By HOWARD W. POPE, Secretary of the Northfield Extension Movement. New York, Chicago, Toronto: Fleming H. Revell Company. 8vo, pp. 224.

The title of this fine little volume may mislead. It is instructive, but not simply that the reader may come to know more by reading it. Its objective point is not knowing, but doing. It is a handbook for pastors and Christian workers. It is crisp and rich with hints that are helpful and suggestions that are both valuable and practicable. The theological critic might find whereof to complain in a small way here and there, but in the main it is excellent in spirit, evangelical to the core and thoroughly adapted to the actual needs and concrete emergencies of the average pastor. For the purpose for which it was designed, it can scarcely be commended too highly.

Trenton.

HENRY COLLIN MINTON.

SEEING DARKLY. By Rev. J. SPARHAWK JONES, D.D. Presbyterian Board of Publication. Pp. 188. 75 cents net.

THE STAFF METHOD. By Rev. S. S. MITCHELL, D.D. Presbyterian Board of Publication. Pp. 78. 75 cents net.

These little volumes are valuable additions to the excellent series entitled "The Presbyterian Pulpit."

The flavor of Dr. Jones' sermons is always metaphysical. He is vigorous and original, and his style is lucid and bright. He makes little use of familiar phrases

of doctrinal statement but he stands with splendid poise in defense of the old truth and the elucidation of the deep doctrines of the Faith. He likes to look below the obvious and the easy, and to grapple with the ultimate problems presented by his theme. His discussion of the relation of knowledge and faith in the first sermon of this book is splendid. The essay on Rahab gives occasion for a lucid treatment of the development of doctrine. There is one motive which underlies all the sermons in the little book. It is the glorious purpose of the Eternal King. This he works out into rich harmonious chords and builds into a glorious anthem. It is great philosophy. It is also literature.

The word which seems best to express the prevailing characteristics of Dr. Mitchell's sermons is sympathy. He speaks to the heart and conscience of the intelligent business man with a directness and sureness of aim that is delightful as it is rare. For it is rare that a man of finest scholarship and taste is able to put himself in touch with the active men of affairs and speak the deep things of God so clearly; and withal in the best classical English. If the volume did nothing else, it would be precious as a proof by example that to speak to the people of the present-day duties and present-day hopes and fears, it is not necessary to use the slang of the street or the careless style of the daily press.

Pittsburg.

S. A. MARTIN.

EVANGELISM. By G. CAMPBELL MORGAN, D.D. Fleming H. Revell Co. Pp. 99. 50 cents net.

This little volume has a rich abundance of good counsel for all Christians. It is especially helpful for all who are engaged in evangelistic labor. It is prudent in all practical affairs; it is fervent in spirit and clean in doctrine. There is a deep, earnest enthusiasm in the whole book which is inspiring.

The style of the book is nervous. It is better suited to spoken discourse than to written, but it is forceful and impressive.

Pittsburg.

S. A. MARTIN.

SABBATH-SCHOOL TEACHER-TRAINING COURSE—FIRST YEAR. Philadelphia: The Westminster Press. Paper cover, pp. 131.

This work, designed for use in Normal Classes, is one of the best books of its kind that have come into my hands—and I have examined, I believe, every extant publication on the subject of which it treats. The volume consists of a series of thirty-nine lessons which are divided into seven departments, each of which is treated by an expert. Prof. Amos R. Wells, A.M., writes "Six Lessons on the Book" (the Bible), the subdivisions being "Bird's-eye View of the Bible," "The Old Testament," "The New Testament," "How God's Revelation was Written and Preserved," "The Story of the English Bible," "The Bible as Literature." President George B. Stewart, D.D., writes "Seven Lessons on Bible History," giving a clear, concise and helpful review of the salient events of Bible history. The other departments are as follows: "Five Lessons on the Lands of the Bible," by the Rev. Charles A. Oliver; "Four Lessons on Bible Worship and Customs," by Robert J. Miller, D.D.; "Four Lessons on the Sabbath-school," by H. L. Phillips, D.D.; "Seven Lessons on the Teacher," by Rev. A. H. McKinney, Ph.D.; "Six Lessons on the Pupil," by Prof. Walter C. Murray, D.D.

Newport, R. I.

GEORGE WHITEFIELD MEAD.

THE ATTRACTIVE CHURCH. By the Rev. CORTLAND MYERS, D.D. American Baptist Publication Society. Paper cover, pp. 72.

This is a stimulating and suggestive book, helpful for clergymen and church officials irrespective of denominational lines. The chapter headings are descrip-

tive of the chief contents, namely, "The Attractive Building," "The Attractive Sermon," "The Attractive Music," "The Attractive Organization," "The Attractive Atmosphere," "The Attractive Conviction." No minister can read this booklet without receiving inspiration and fresh suggestion for the work of both pulpit and parish. It seems incredible, however, that Dr. Myers should not have included a chapter on "The Attractive Bible-School." The Bible-school is a foundation work of the church, and to neglect it in consideration or coöperation is to pave the way for future failure, and no amount of brilliant administration or pulpit attraction can compensate for the loss that a church thereby must inevitably sustain.

Newport, R. I.

GEORGE WHITEFIELD MEAD.

THE MAGNETISM OF CHRIST. By the Rev. JOHN SMITH, A.M., D.D. New York: A. C. Armstrong & Son, 1904.

The dull scholarship of the Church, the slowness of the professed followers of the Saviour in learning that the Christian Church is something more than an esoteric Society, has had the pitifully sad result of throwing what is called the Social Problem into unworthy hands.

The solution of this problem, as it is proclaimed by many voices in our day, is scarcely more than the suggestion that human society lift itself upward by "the straps of its own boots"—that machinery unconnected with any "head of power" shall move the world—that selfish men banded together as a working force or agency shall bring the world's selfishness to an end.

From this childish folly our author surely and beautifully rescues both himself and the cause which he represents. He lifts the Social Problem upward into connection with Jesus Christ, who seems to have come as Minister Plenipotentiary from heaven to earth for the very purpose of dealing with this problem, and who has given indubitable proof that He is able to handle it. A world of fifteen hundred millions of sinning and suffering men cannot be saved by a committee or a society that is a part of itself. The need here calls for the notice and the help of One who is above the world, mighty and able to save.

This hope and this help our author declares when he points to the great Evangelist and bids those who love and would serve their fellow-men to follow Him in His ministry and its methods. The book is a strong and useful volume. While this acknowledgment is unhesitatingly and gratefully made, we cannot forbear the wish that our author to his plain and earnest style had added some more touches of beauty, for he surely does a large work for the world who puts into new shapes of beauty the great truths of evangelistic theology that are the same from age to age.

And this wish is coupled with the regret that our author did not find another name for his book.

The word "magnetism" has been sorely and repellantly overworked in our day—so much so as to become almost an offense both to taste and to reverence. But this is a minute criticism. Besides, too, "magnetism," as applied to life and human power, may have a better standing in Scotland than it has in America.

Princeton.

S. S. MITCHELL.

THE CHILD AS GOD'S CHILD. By Rev. CHARLES W. RISHELL, Ph.D., Professor of Historical Theology in Boston University. New York: Eaton & Mains.

This is distinctly a disappointing book. One supposes it is a plea for the treatment of the child as a religious being, but it turns out to be an argument for a particular theory of soteriology. Dr. Rishell lays down as fundamental that every child is born regenerated—though sometimes he seems to confuse regenera-

tion and conversion—therefore every child is to be treated as the child of God in the highest Christian sense. It follows that the child, no matter what his antecedents, is entitled to baptism and full church membership through admission to the Lord's Supper.

Of course no worker with children ever proceeds upon such a theory. It is hard to believe that Dr. Rishell can take himself so seriously. One does not for a moment question the fact that such children as Samuel and John the Baptist were regenerated before their natural birth, but to argue that every child is born a regenerated soul has no support in either reason or revelation. Much that Dr. Rishell states about the difference in the psychology of the religion of the child and adult is quite true, and his chapters on Parents, The Sunday-school and The Critical Period are valuable, but even here one has to read with the fundamental position of the author well in mind. The covenant distinction in regard to children is not to be ignored as experience still proves. If Dr. Rishell had been willing to follow this line, he might have given us a modern rendering of Bushnell's *Christian Nurture*. Or if he had confined himself to the duty of training the child purely as a religious being, he could have made a distinct contribution to the literature of the subject. As it is, one must enter protest against the untenable fundamental doctrine of the book which vitiates much of the really valuable matter.

After all, most workers find that every child is largely a separate problem. His religious life and experience are not settled by any ready-made theory. In the household of Isaac there are still Esaus who sell their birthright. We must deal with children primarily on the individual basis. Fortunately much of the training so well outlined here is valuable apart from any theory one may hold as to the regenerated condition of the child. For these chapters it may pay to read the book, but even these methods may be found better presented in the current authorities in the Sunday-school field.

W. B. SHEDDAN.

APPLIED THEOLOGY. By Rev. F. C. MONFORT, D.D. Cincinnati: Monfort & Co., 1904.

"Theology," says the author, "finds its best use when applied. Every doctrine has its practical side. Thoughts of God suggest duty and privilege. It is the purpose of this book to discuss doctrines with emphasis on their application to practical life." In fulfilling this purpose Dr. Monfort has written about fifty brief essays on subjects like "The Purpose of Life," "Divine Sovereignty," "Providence," "Atonement," "Sanctification," "Christian Liberty," etc. In no case has he failed to put the emphasis on life, or to relate the duty or privilege he enforces to the doctrine he is treating. The Westminster standards have furnished him with an order for his discussions, and the type to which the theology of the book is conformed is the Reformed Puritan type. Dr. Monfort's style is clear, direct and positive. He has been successful in saying a great deal in a short space, in saying it lucidly and, to quote his words, "in applying it all to practical life."

JOHN DE WITT.

CHRISTUS IN ECCLESIA. Sermons on the Church and Its Institutions. By HASTINGS RASHDALL, D.Litt., D.C.L., Fellow and Tutor of New College, Oxford; Preacher at Lincoln's Inn, 1899-1903. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1904. Imported by Charles Scribner's Sons, New York. Svo; pp. ix, 364. Price, \$1.50 net.

This is a volume of twenty-five sermons that have been preached in the Chapel of Lincoln's Inn, Westminster Abbey, etc. Each of the topics ought to interest

the average American clergyman, and we venture to give the entire list. Here they are: The Oxford Movement, The Idea of the Church, The Holy Eucharist, Baptism, Infant Baptism, Grace, Priesthood, Apostolical Succession, The Social Mission of the Church, The Matter of Prayer, The Manner of Prayer, Intercessory Prayer, Thanksgiving, Penitence and Penitential Seasons, the Origin of Sunday, The Observance of Sunday, Revelation and the Bible, The Old Testament, The New Testament, Missions, The Religious Character of the State, Church and State, The Church and the Churches, The Broad Church Party, Liberalism and Practical Piety. Dr. Rashdall belongs to the new school of Biblical critics; for he teaches that there are degrees of inspiration indicated in the books of the Bible, he denies the historicity of considerable portions of the *prima facie* historical parts of Scripture, he rejects the miracles of the Old Testament, and so on. But apart from the question of his critical method and that of the extremely liberal character of his theology, there is much in the present series of his sermons that is praiseworthy. On every page he manifests a manly devotion to truth. He gives the impression of downright sincerity. His tone is reverent throughout. His spirit is decidedly irenic; he does not unchurch "Nonconformists," and he admits that the narrow view of the "Apostolical Succession" has but a slight historical support. He finds no specific warrant for a "hierarchical caste" in the New Testament. And, finally, his spirit and aim are essentially constructive. He does not revel in iconoclasm, like some of the exponents of the new Biblical criticism we might name. Indeed, his main objective appears to be what we may, perhaps not in a trifling spirit, term a harmony between the new criticism and the Christian religion.

It is, of course, impossible to give an adequate account, even in outline, within the limits here imposed upon us, of a book whose topics range over so wide a territory. When, for example, we recall Macaulay's review of Gladstone's first book as we read Dr. Rashdall's chapter on "The Religious Character of the State," we feel that a full review of this book might easily grow into a larger book than the book itself. We have found ourselves mentally writing a question-mark on the margin of nearly every page. Unlike the typical sermon, these sermons read well; for they are altogether free from rhetorical flourishes and studied emotionalism. The author's style is as clear as daylight.

Cranford, N. J.

GEORGE FRANCIS GREENE.

FAITH AND KNOWLEDGE. Sermons by W. R. INGE, M.A., Fellow and Tutor of Hertford College, Oxford; Formerly Fellow of King's College, Cambridge; Examining Chaplain to the Bishop of Lechfield. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. Imported by Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, 1904. 8vo; pp. x, 292. \$1.50 net.

The learned preacher of these sermons is not a pastor, he is only a distinguished scholar and theological teacher. Any one who has read his valuable work on *Mysticism* will expect in any work that bears his name only refined thought and elegant expression. These sermons, preached in different places and upon varying occasions, show the lack of pastoral touch and of direct contact with the people. They are carefully thought out, somewhat of the nature of essays upon theological and religious themes, and adapted rather to the trained reader than to the popular mind. Every one of the twenty sermons has for its topic some abstract theme, such as "Wisdom," "Justice," "Truth in Love," "Humility," etc. The author puts a high valuation upon a merely theoretical conception of the truth, and dissents from the *dictum* of Lotze that "we strive to know only in order that we may learn to do." His well-known theological position is an advanced one along all lines, but these sermons are full of a healthy suggestiveness and are addressed to a select public which can be reached by the press rather

than from any pulpit. Such a public will certainly appreciate this volume and will be profited by its rich thought and scholarly teachings.

Trenton.

HENRY COLLIN MINTON.

EVANGELISCHES RELIGIONSBUCH FÜR EINFACHE SCHULVERHÄLTNISSE. Biblische Geschichten mit Beziehung zum Lernstoff im Katechismus. Bearbeitet von Königl. Schulrat C. HOLLENWEGER. Leipzig: Verlag der Dürr'schen Buchhandlung, 1903. Pp. vi, 131. Price, M. 1.

For use in confirmation classes, this little handbook commends itself to German Lutheran pastors by the simplicity of its language, the orderliness of its arrangement, the number and attractiveness of its illustrations, and the low price at which the publishers issue it.

Princeton.

J. OSCAR BOYD.

BIBLISCHES HISTORIENBUCH FÜR BÜRGER- UND LANDSCHULEN, von Dr. FERDINAND FIEDLER. Ausgabe A. Dreiundsiebzigste Auflage. Leipzig: Verlag der Dürr'schen Buchhandlung, 1903. Pp. viii, 197. Price, 70 pf.

Those who prefer to put into the hands of the young a book of excerpts from the Bible rather than the entire sacred volume, will find in this little book of Biblical history an excellent and most inexpensive volume, with its 187 extracts happily chosen and arranged according to the Christian year of the Lutheran Church.

Princeton.

J. OSCAR BOYD.

VII.--GENERAL LITERATURE.

THE DIVINE PROCESSIONAL. A poem in twenty-nine cantos, interspersed with songs. By the Rev. DENIS WORTMAN, D.D., author of *Reliques of the Christ*. 8vo; pp. 283. New York: Fleming H. Revell Company, 1903. \$1.50.

In the above Dr. Wortman has given us the noblest modern Christian epic. It will rank as the best harmony of the apparently conflicting thoughts of our teeming age and as their highest expression. It gives them all a place in a firmament that presents an orderly, progressive, divine scheme wherein glimpses of an infinite unity cause stars to sing together and sons of God to shout for joy.

Poetry is the highest form of expression. Hebraisms are not too beautiful to be true. The Psalms are not hyperbolic. Fancy but anticipates and paints realizations—

Land airs are prophecies to mariners;
Imagination first the jewel wears.

In poetry thought more easily and most highly *lives*. The multitude of the heavenly host taught men to preach the gospel in song.

Our time does not quite sympathize with this, however. It furnishes a rather unfriendly atmosphere to song. It is an atmosphere occupied by and exhausted by the whistle of progress. Publishers say that interest in poetry is declining. This means that practical materialism is pressing. People are coming into the mood of the English farmer of whom we have heard, who complained that his family were kept awake by nightingales! All the more need, therefore, for some one to sing away the doubts, contentions, cares and wearinesses of men from some high point of rich and sweet interpretation. The century needs wings as well as

wires and rails, awakening and uplifting as well as sleep and progress, poetry as well as prose.

There is, accordingly, something timely even in the untimeliness of this great poem. It is calculated to recall the age to itself and to restore the love and dominion of the real and eternal authorities of life. We have yielded too much to the time spirit. We should, now and then at least, look upon the unseen, listen to the unheard, and, like the ancient prophet, invite in the minstrel to play for us that the spirit of God may come upon us.

It is not an error to call this a great poem. It has the greatness of thought. The argument is borne upon a full tide of refined intellectuality. The suggestion is that of depth, but not of shallowness; of reserve, but not of exhaustion. The author has produced the ripe fruit of many years of meditation and study, and has touched his great theme with unmistakable fullness of mind and power of genius. He gives expression and form to consciousnesses that haunt us all, and thus indebted us to a happy art, for

Genius is but the concentrated light
And prism whereby that beauty is displayed
Which else were hidden in a spirit-beam,
Or on the inner canvas of a mind.

To this greatness of individual intellectual conception is added that of the greatest of subjects. It should attract but not repel when the mind invites us to move in its highest realm and introduces us to the presence of God. To call a poem at once thoughtful and theological is high praise. Thought lifts expression above platitude into the mind's free air and theology joins it there to direct it to heaven. How dead and barren a thing has theology been called! How living, fruitful and joyous has she proved when united to a living mind! Flat and sterile are all considerations that lack the inspiration of the truths of Him who is ever calling us up to the heights of glory and virtue, whose mind flashes like the lightning, whose power crashes like the thunder, whose manifold and loving wisdom is manifested in countless forms of majestic and minute beauty, whose providence marshals the infinitely various and opposed elements of history toward a goal of good, who leads the multitudinous characters of time in the train of His Son and ordains angels to chant a divine processional throughout the march, while prophets, apostles and sweet singers in Israel make Him their lovely and their mighty theme.

It is this discernment of God in nature and history that gives to this poem its scientific element, especial interest and peculiar greatness. The age is nothing if not scientific. No one can engage its attention, command its sympathy and interpret God to it who is indifferent or contemptuous with regard to its scientific progress and speculation. The world's one religious idea to-day is that of the immanence of the Eternal throughout time, expressed in a continuous propulsion and upward thrust of the whole creation in a marvelous diversity, but with a simple unity of divine life and energy. Men are eager to think that they have reduced the complex problem to its first and constant term. They feel as religious when they call it Force as when they call it God. The danger is that of putting away that other thought of the transcendence of the eternal, with all that it involves in the accountability of sinful creatures and the necessity of the involution of a new life in order to the highest progress. This would be the putting away of the whole Christian scheme in the name of science, which does not demand such a divorce from Christ and of God who would not honor it. There is need of scientific Christian thought, worthily expressed, to guide this scientific impulse and to correct its extremes. The era does not demand and could not have a greater or truer, a more majestic or more beautiful presentation of the

God of Nature, Providence and History than Milton has given; but there must be its own poet as well as its own prophet, and he must be more scientific than the poet of the past because to-day is more scientific than yesterday, and less merely dogmatic, because this period when it is prepared to grant obedient faith to true authority nevertheless loves to reason about it. It is in answer thus to an existent and common need that modern Christian thought, which so nobly maintains the faith on all the fields of prose, here sings also in beautiful and lofty strains the happy blending of religious and scientific truth in harmony. The presentation is not that of atheistic evolution, and not that of theistic evolution, but that of Christian Evolution. *The Divine Processional* has caught the idea of the age, but made it tributary to Him in whom reason and faith are met together, by whom religion and science have kissed each other.

The particular and commanding excellencies of this poem will reveal themselves to its reader, and greatly reward his interest. As an interpretation of nature, of history, and of God's magnificent march through both it is unique. It is conceived in a largeness of enlightened and sweet spirit. The scope of its purpose is worthy of its theme. There is a freshness of conception that charms the mind, and there is an originality of treatment that commands attention. In majesty of progress the argument proceeds to sublimity of culmination. Nature utters her vast and sorrowful consciousness. A fellowship of angels voices the thought of heaven over the study of earth. With a sanctified audacity that does not wound reverence the writer puts words into the mouth of God that seem worthy of Him, and gives to Him expressions that make Him "His own interpreter" of His manifold and marvelous providence. Upon the course of mighty and pregnant thought there break in here and there interludes of melody, momentary strains of song, that rest and cheer the mind as it girds itself anew for the great consideration. A fine felicity and power of expression give beautiful setting to gems of thought and cause one to linger upon words and phrases, upon imagery and analogies, with purpose of memory and use of notebook. Reading begets the tendency to quote as when the intellect rejoices with Emerson. It is a work that seizes upon and possesses the soul. Until we have heard it through we are absent from our accustomed world. There is something akin to what Matthew Arnold has called "the boundless exhilaration of the Bible" about it. The soul rises from this field into another atmosphere, like a lark from a meadow, and utters itself in a flood of worship.

This is the test of such a book, its appeal to the soul, to the whole man. It must be measured by its effect upon all that is within man when he is aroused to his highest exercise of himself and his imagination. To this standard Dr. Wortman's work reaches: it first kindles, and then burns, and then mounts up to joyous jubilation in the spirit that seems caught up with it to a height of transfigured History.

The age is most opportune for wide and deep Christian thought. This is an important and beautiful contribution to it. As one lays it down with the purpose of taking it up again to re-read and more deeply ponder it, it is with the feeling that there is about it a perennial interest, an immortality, that will give it a ministry for generations to come.

Catskill, N. Y.

CHRISTOPHER G. HAZARD.

WINNING HIS "W." A Story of Freshman Year in College. By EVERETT T. TOMLINSON. American Baptist Publication Society. Pp. 308.

A story which cannot fail to be of interest to the college boy, and, in the main, true to life. In spite of the author's assertion that he has not "lugged a 'moral'" upon the tale, it nevertheless possesses an excellent one, namely, the importance of learning how to study.

Newport, R. I.

RICHARD ARNOLD GREENE.

Princeton Theological Seminary-Speer Library



1 1012 01025 9184

